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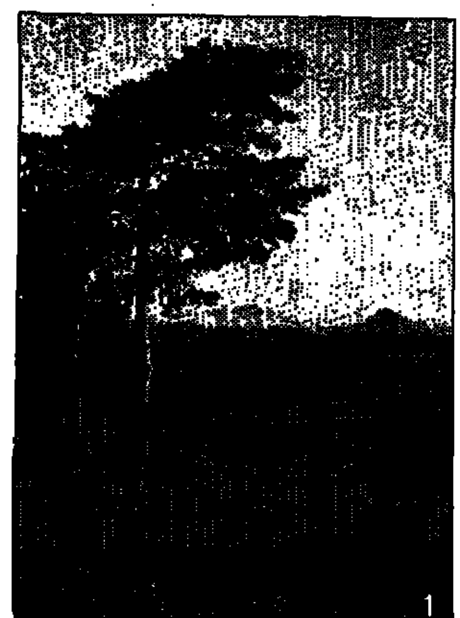
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2 Heidenheim
3 Nördlingen
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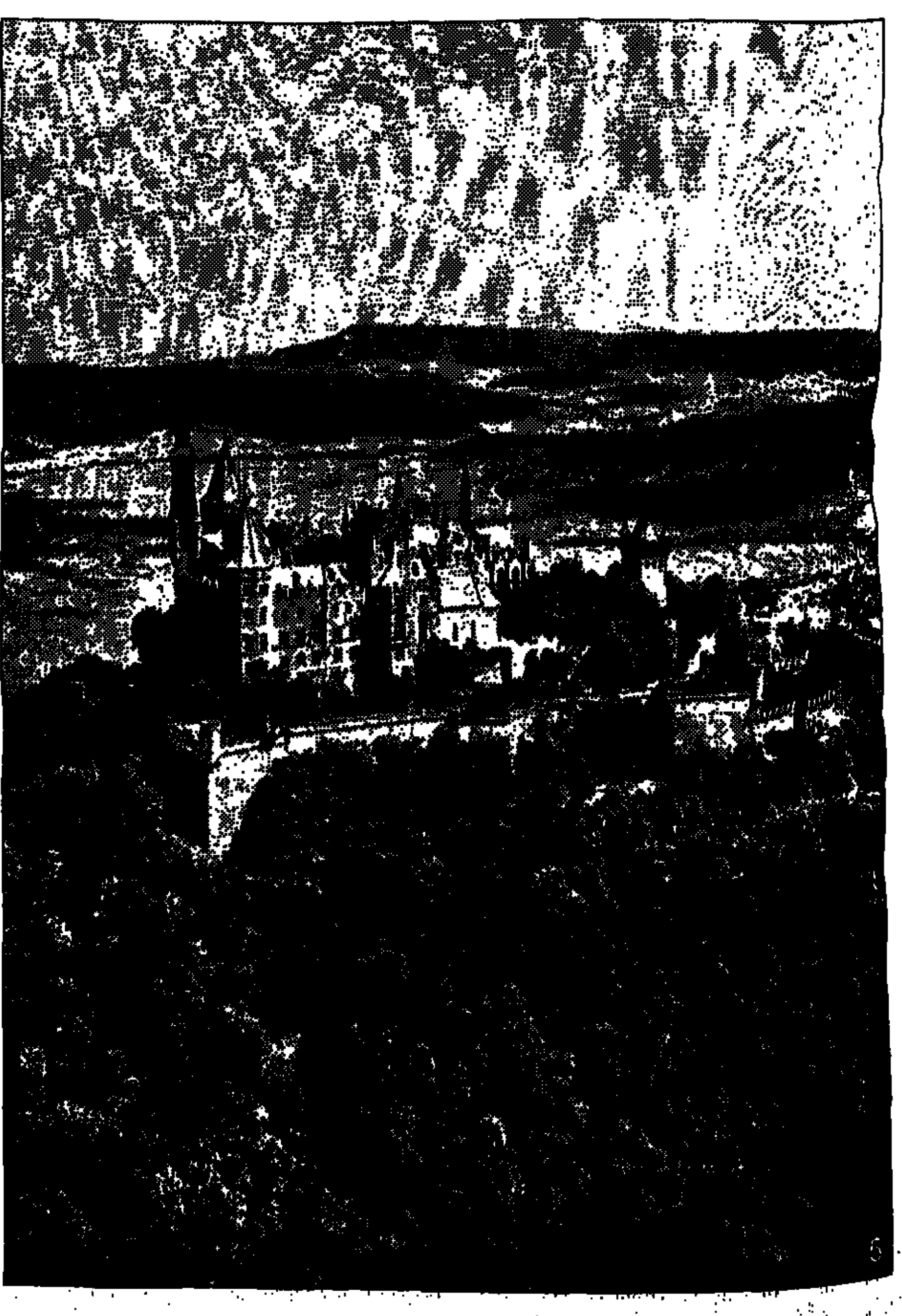












The German Tribune

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Gorbachov visit stirs new hopes for a fresh start

What's the matter with the Germans? In view of the enthusiastic welcome Mr Gorbachov was given on his visit to the Federal Republic this is a question that has been puzzling our immediate neighbours as well as the Americans.

German behaviour has far from infrequently been referred to as a mania, and seemingly most irrational.

That is far from untrue, given that Mr Gorbachov represents a superpower that is largely to blame for the division of Germany and for the oppression of 16 million fellow-Germans and the nations of Eastern Europe.

Yet in this country, on the borderline between East and West, we do seem to be more sensitive to the consequences of the revolutionary change on which Mr Gorbachov has embarked in the Soviet Union and, with it, in other Warsaw Pact countries.

Page 2: Both leaders get their foreign policy success; Deal to boost joint ventures; Outlines of a 'new thinking'.
Page 3: Little comfort for East Berlin leaders as Russian do business in Bonn.

Opinion in the Federal Republic is, admittedly, more sensitive to speeches and gestures by the Soviet leader that hold forth the promise of security and disarmament.

In a country which, in relation to its size, houses the world's largest concentration of arms stockpiles and armed forces, people are only too happy to believe they may be able to get rid of them.

Such hopes are strengthened to the brink of certainty by Mr Gorbachov, unlike his predecessors, shoring up his promises with specific moves.

So German enthusiasm welcomed him in equal measure as an apostle of peace and as a political reformer.

Irritation over what's up with the Germans would have been much more marked and mistrustful had not Mr Gorbachov's visit been preceded by the Brussels Nato summit and US President Bush's visit to Bonn.

The Nato decisions laid the groundwork for agreements [illegible] Union. Had these decisions not been reached, German foreign policy would have leant dangerously to the east.

What is more, President Bush's Mainz speech included express encouragement to Bonn to intensify its relations with the Soviet Union and Moscow's allies.

Mr Bush even offered the Germans partnership "in a leadership role." This offer was echoed by Mr Gorbachov, who said German-Soviet relations were of "central significance" for the situation in Europe and for East-West ties.

Both statements attach substantial political significance to the Federal Republic, which can no longer shirk responsibility with reference to the long-outmoded formula that it is an economic giant but a political dwarf.

The joint declaration signed in Bonn by the German and Soviet leaders would lead one to assume that Bonn officials are beginning to realise this.

It includes so-called building blocks for a European order that largely correspond to German views and European values, such as the right of self-determination, free choice of political system, human rights and equal security.

The tale of the talks about this document, by the way, shows that the Soviets did not need much urging by the Germans to accept the proposed terms.

So German-Soviet relations have a new quality. Mr Gorbachov and Herr Kohl were keen to make the visit appear to be an extraordinary event and a fresh start in other respects.

Relations so far had been the work of others: of the party that is now in opposition in Bonn and of Mr Brezhnev, now almost an unperson, in Moscow.

Mr Gorbachov and Herr Kohl both wanted to make their mark. The Soviet leader was keen to see the Chancellor, his CDU and the CSU formally commit themselves once again to agreements they opposed when they were in opposition.

The joint declaration makes express mention, for instance, of the 1970 Moscow Treaty and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Herr Kohl will have had no difficulty in signing. Democratic changes of government may be accompanied by speeches in which distinctions are drawn between oneself and one's predecessors, but they are seldom accompanied by radical changes in foreign policy.

In the Soviet Union it is another matter. It will be interesting to see how the two parties implement their declarations of intent in mutual relations and in ties with allies.

It will be particularly intriguing to see how Berlin and Berlin politicians are handled and how the Soviet Union handles the GDR and its present leadership.

In the one instance a little more goodwill and pragmatism could lead to a solution.

The other can only be settled within the framework of a peace system as envisaged. It will, however, require the adoption of Soviet-style new thinking by East Berlin.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 15 June 1989)

Flowers for Gorbachov. The Soviet party boss (left) and Federal Republic President von Weizsäcker during a walk-about in Bonn. (Photo: dpa)

Extreme right maintains its momentum in Euro poll

The extreme right-wing Republicans polled heavily in the European Parliament election. In Bavaria, it polled 15 per cent and, across the nation as a whole, received 7.1 per cent, only 1.3 percentage points behind the Greens. The ruling CDU/CSU party lost ground but not as much as expected. It remains the biggest party, fractionally ahead of the SPD, which lost ground slightly. The Free Democrats come back into the assembly by getting over the 5 per cent hurdle. Although across Europe as a whole there was a drift to the left, there seems unlikely to be any substantial political majority in the assembly. Provisional results in Germany (1984 results in brackets): CDU/CSU 37.8% (46%); SPD 37.3% (37.4%); Greens 8.4% (8.2%); FDP 5.6% (4.8%); DVU 1.6% (—); Rep. 7.1% (—). The Republicans, who have also been polling heavily in German Land elections, are beginning to worry the established parties in Bonn that they might be more than a flash in the pan.

In at least half the 12 European Community countries, voters missed the opportunity of strengthening their Euro-MPs' hands by a higher turnout in the fight for wider powers for the Strasbourg assembly.

The European Parliament wants more extensive powers in the legislative period ahead. It needs them if the Community's democracy gap is to be bridged.

This gap consists of national parliaments losing powers without extra powers being handed to the Strasbourg assembly.

Overall turnout was well under 60 per cent of the 240 million who were eligible. The 62 per cent who went to the polls in Germany proved to be an exception. In Great Britain it was not even 40 per cent. The new assembly, the third to which direct elections have been held, is more left-wing, but that is not really relevant to the way the assembly works.

True, the Socialist group gained as did the Greens. The Conservatives took a caning and the Christian Democrats lost ground.

But the left- and right-wing pigeonholing used in Bonn Bundestag isn't appropriate in Strasbourg.

Socialist and Christian Democratic MEPs have always joined forces, with each other and with others, to command an absolute majority of 260 votes on a given issue.

They can be sure to continue to do so. So the overwhelming number of committed Europeans in the assembly will continue to hold a working majority.

A few right- or left-wing extremists are unlikely to impede the progress of these champions of a European Parliament in which full democratic powers are vested.

MEPs face the opposition of the 12 member-governments, which are reluctant to submit to Europarliamentary control as part of an essential system of democratic checks and balances.

Not until Euro-MPs have prevailed here are they likely to earn the respect that will lead to a full-scale turnout.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 20 June 1989)

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■ GORBACHOV VISIT

Both leaders get their foreign policy success

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Both Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl have achieved what they need: a foreign policy success.

How far this will help them cope with their political problems at home remains to be seen.

The lustre of Gorbachov's visit to Bonn may soon fade or even disappear altogether in the hard slog needed to push through perestroika.

For Bonn — and hence for Kohl — the visit was a success. It follows two other CDU successes — the visit of President Bush before Gorbachov; and the missiles agreement at the Nato summit.

But all this needed to be turned into votes in both the European election and local government elections held on the same day.

However, that is secondary when assessing Gorbachov's visit. A term frequently used is "historic".

This may turn out to be appropriate in many ways.

The head of the leading Communist power, Lenin's heir, signed agreements in Germany which resemble a list of binding basic rules for the coexistence of the citizens, peoples and states of the western world.

Although Moscow did not sign a treaty it has helped create a point of reference which can also be quoted by Eastern Europeans along the lines of the provisions of the final Helsinki accords.

The dignity and rights of the individual, the right of all peoples and states to freely determine their fate and their relations on the basis of international law, and the right of self-determination of peoples are all listed in the charter.

Perhaps Gorbachov's thoughts drifted back to the days of Brezhnev when he signed the assurance that the integrity and security of every state must be unreservedly respected and that every country has the right to freely choose its own political and social system.

Although such commitments are only words they are now not only contained in a more or less non-committal speech, but in a joint document signed with a western partner.

Hungarians and the Poles both inside and outside of their countries can now, for example, refer to this document.

Gorbachov can interpret the realisation of human rights, which is described in the Bonn declaration as the building material of Europe in a different way than Kohl.

He referred to the "people of the Federal Republic of Germany" and not to the Germans, thus illuminating the interpretive scope of the right of self-determination.

The significance of the Bonn declaration extends beyond the German-Soviet relationship.

This impression is reinforced by the fact that, apart from his own country, Gorbachov acknowledged the decisive signific*ance of the Federal Republic of Germany* for the situation in Europe and for the relationship between East and West.

Bonn is raised to the status of a leadership partner to Washington and Moscow.

Although not a hinge between West and East it is a point of departure for western stimuli to Eastern Europe.

Almost flatteringly the Russians talk of *a culmination* in the relations between the "two great powers", meaning the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, not America.

American and Western European observers worriedly ask where the about-turn in the German-Soviet relationship may lead.

No matter how transitory a mood of overexuberance on the part of the Germans who acclaimed Gorbachov may be it increases mistrust. The Bonn government is always on a tightrope walk between the cautious retention of its integration in the West and a rationally controlled yet intentional opening to the East.

Kohl's thoughts centre on Germany. The government views the improvement in relations with a Soviet Union which pursues reforms and which allows more human rights in a broader context.

The independent course of events in certain Warsaw Pact countries is one major aspect.

The distant objective of a historical development become discernible which is bound to have an impact on East Germany.

In the long run East Berlin cannot remain obstinate — hopes at least move in this direction. It is hoped that encouraging reforms in the East will allow human rights to spread.

Kohl's Deutschlandpolitik concentrates on human rights more than on the "territorial question".

Gorbachov was given the comforting assurance that Bonn does not intend making East Germany feel uncertain and thus adding to his worries.

All Soviet remarks on the future of Germany and on the Berlin Wall were, as opposed to the situation last October, noticeably vague.

Soviet diplomats point towards the existing proposal on the dissolution of the blocs and add that even bilateral agreements need not be conclusive:

"Both German states can decide for themselves; the future is more elastic than the past." Kohl is looking for markings along the long and winding road to intra-German rapprochement.

Economic assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany is hardly likely to be able to ensure that Soviet citizens obtain the bare necessities.

Outside help is of little use if the basic rules of economising are not observed.

Even honestly meant promises sound empty if there is no foundation of expertise and structures.

Gorbachov's most important objective, therefore, can only be partly fulfilled.

All of Bonn's hopes are built on sandy ground if the Soviet Union does not help itself and thus pull Gorbachov and his reforms out of the crisis. *Claus Gennrich*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 June 1989)

Deal to boost joint ventures

An agreement on investment protection and promotion is one of 11 signed during Gorbachov's visit to Bonn.

The range of agreements was wide, covering drug trafficking investigations, school pupil exchanges and exchanges of information about nuclear power plants. A hotline is to be set up between Bonn and Moscow.

But the most significant deal is on investment. Its aim is to make it easier for small and medium-sized firms to set up German-Soviet joint ventures.

Other agreements dealt *with:* Career training. Every year, *1,000* people from the Soviet Union *will* attend basic and advanced training programmes in the *Federal Republic.*

Hotline. A *code-tele*copier line is to be installed between the Chancellor's office in Bonn and the Kremlin.

Labour protection. This is the *first* ever agreement between governments of a capitalist and a Communist country on social policy. Its aim is to provide Soviet engineers with theoretical and practical knowledge on labour protection.

The fight against drugs. Closer co*operation is wanted by both si*des.

Youth exchange programmes. This sets out to promote exchanges of young people outside of school trips. The hosts would pay for food and accommodation, and the guests for travel.

Science. The exchange of scholarship holders, researchers and university teaching staff is to be extended beyond the current amount of 100 per year.

Pupil and teacher exchanges. *Forty* groups of schoolchildren from each country are to visit the other country. At least 35 teachers are to be exchanged.

Cultural institutes. A *Goethe* Institute is to be set up in Moscow and a Soviet Culture Institute in *Stuttgart.*

Hanse archives. The *city archives* of Reval/Tallinn and the archives of the Hanse cities of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck are to be returned *to* their original locations by October 1990.

Exchange of information on nuclear power plants. Both governments agreed on a supplementation of the nuclear agreement of autumn 1988.

It envisages as early warning notification system in the event of nuclear accidents and a regular ex*change of information on nuclear in*stallations.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 June 1989)

The German Tribune

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Kohl and Gorbachov signed a joint declaration covering a wide range of issues. It touched upon security, human rights, travel and ecological cooperation.

Bonn government circles say that the Soviet Union, in articulating its ideas for the statement, has for the first time used western criteria.

The first section of the declaration stresses the need for a "new thinking". Both sides commit themselves to the unreserved *respect of the security of all coun*tries, the right to the free choice of the political and social system, and the recognition of the norms of international law.

It says: "Every war, whether nuclear or conventional, must ... be prevented."

The second section underlines Europe's "outstanding role" in shaping a peaceful future.

Both countries regard it as the priority of their policies to take up the historically evolved European traditions and thus work towards overcoming the division of Europe.

Both countries are "determined to work together to develop ideas on how this objective can be attained through the creation of a Europe of peace and of cooperation — of a European peace order or of a Common European House — in which there is also room for the USA and Canada."

Outlines of a 'new thinking'

The following "building components" are listed:

1. The respect for the security of every state. Each state has the right to freely choose its own system.

2. The resolute continuation of the process of disarmament and arms control.

3. Dialogue, including regular meetings at the highest political level.

4. The realisation of human rights and the promotion of the exchange of people and ideas.

This includes the extension of town-twinning, of transport and communication, of cultural ties, of tourism and sports exchanges, the promotion of language instruction, and a benevolent treatment of humanitarian questions including the principle of allowing families to be united and travel abroad.

5. The extension of contacts between youth.

6. Comprehensive economic cooper*ation to the benefit of both sides.*

7. The gradual development of all-European cooperation, especially in the field of transport, the energy industry, the health sector, information and communication.

8. The ecological cooperation and the use of new technologies.

9. The respect and cultivation of the historically evolved cultures of the peoples of Europe. The interests of national minorities should be protected.

The third section of the declaration emphasises that one's own security must not be guaranteed at the expense of the security of others.

A "future-orientated policy" should remove the reasons for tension and mistrust "so that the still existing feeling of threat is replaced step by step by a state of mutual trust."

Both sides condemn efforts to gain military supremacy. "War must no longer be a means of politics."

Hopes are expressed that "existing asymmetries" will be eliminated and that military potentials will be reduced to a stable balance at a lower level.

The ability to launch surprise attacks should be ruled out.

Both countries advocate a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the USA and the Soviet Union, American-Soviet solutions in nuclear and space negotiations, a ban on chemical weapons, the agreement on a ban

Continued on page 11

■ GORBACHOV VISIT

Little comfort for East Berlin leaders as Russians do business in Bonn

Astonishment was written all over the face of a Soviet friend as he watched the scene on Schlossplatz in Stuttgart.

And it wasn't the colourful procession *that* caught his eye, with horsemen in historic militia uniforms and groups wearing yesteryear Baden and Swabian costumes.

What amazed him was the standing ovation given the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachov.

Mr Gorbachov had been given just as rousing and heartfelt a welcome the previous day by a crowd of several thousand who packed the Markplatz in Bonn.

The Soviet friend was a journalist I knew from when I was working in Moscow. It was his first visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. He was evidently overwhelmed.

I asked him what was going through his mind. "I'm wondering what Gorbachov thinks about Honecker," he said. Seeing I didn't realise what he meant, he added: "I'd say he'll be comparing his reception here with that given to (GDR leader) Erich Honecker."

The Gorbachov visit will have brushed aside many of the misgivings people in *the Soviet Union may have retained* despite their readiness to come to terms with the West.

"Our Germans," as the Russians are fond of saying, are suddenly no longer the East Germans; they are the West Germans.

And what has impressed the West Germans is the brush-off Soviet spokesmen now seem to have no qualms in giving *their erstwhile most-favoured comrades in East Berlin.*

A leading Soviet Foreign Ministry official dismissed the former Foreign Ministry spokesman (now Soviet ambassador *in* London) Leonid Zamyatin, a close associate of Mr Brezhnev's, noting that what was now known as public relations used to be agitprop, but was less successful as such.

Asked how the GDR leaders might be reassured, this leading official simply said: "Send them tranquillisers, and plenty of 'em!"

He made a number of other comments that could hardly fail to confirm the GDR leaders' worst fears that developments might bowl them over, leaving them high and dry.

The Berlin Wall? It wasn't a long-term proposition, he said. A united Germany? Herr Honecker travelled round the world asking whether anyone really favoured the idea. "But that's what he says."

What, then, about two German states with an open border, an Austrian-style solution? We could live with the idea, the Soviet official says.

"I cannot overlook the feelings that have been apparent over the past few days in the Federal capital, Bonn, and on the square in front of the Schloss in Stuttgart," Mr Gorbachov told his host, Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth, on the third day of his stay.

These outbreaks of enthusiasm may well have done more to promote a Soviet rethink than political intentions of documents signed in Bonn.

Comparison with the visits by Charles de Gaulle, John F. Kennedy and Elizabeth II are far from inappropriate. In all three cases *the views of the Germans* held in France, the United States and Great Britain were revised for the better, and for good, with goodwill replacing indifference, condescension and contempt. The footage screened on Soviet television may not have the same effect as TV newscasts in the West a generation ago, but they could well have made a lasting mark on Soviet politicians.

They may, perhaps, have hoped for such a demonstration of pleasure and affection in the West, but cannot possibly have expected it.

After all, their domestic popularity is limited, to say the least.

The most important point Mr Gorbachov will have taken back home with him is a feeling of certainty that the Soviet Union is nowhere better understood in the West than in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Nowhere has the Soviet leader encountered greater readiness to take the change in Soviet policy more seriously than in Bonn.

It isn't taken as seriously in the United States, Russia's major rival, in Britain or in France, where reservations about political events or possibilities in the Soviet Union are papered over by the pomp and circumstance of ceremony.

That leaves Bonn, which Moscow at present evidently sees as holding the key to a historic realignment in Europe.

What makes this rapprochement even more attractive is that the Germans see Moscow as the capital they imagine to hold the key to a solution to the German problem.

Soviet and German leaders classified Mr Gorbachov's visit as historic, crowned by Mr Gorbachov and Herr Kohl signing a document styled a joint declaration.

It was officially accorded the status of a historic document. Whether it really is one is hardly a matter to be decided by an



official decision. History alone can try and test it.

Even so, it isn't wrong to classify the six-paged joint declaration as unique. Soviet observers are making great play with the concept of new philosophy to which, they say, the document testifies.

It is certainly true to say that agreement was reached on Western value concepts, from the individual and his dignity and rights to the right of all nations and states to freely determine their destiny and the priority of international law in domestic and international affairs.

The declaration also reaffirms the protection of minority rights, refers to the implementation of human rights and the promotion of exchange of people and ideas and undertakes to protect the rights of national minorities.

Counterparts to these and other proclamations that form part of the joint declaration are, it is true, to be found in the Helsinki Final Act and the UN Charter.

What is new is that they have been linked to form a bilateral whole that is neither non-committal or spiked with provisos, like the CSCE Final Act.

No mention is made of the restrictions or limitations imposed by national legis*lation.* A straightforward, no-holds-barred undertaking is sealed and signed.

The declaration may not have the status or value of a treaty, yet its morally binding effect is greater than that of the 1975 Final Act.

Leading officials of the German Federal government, which is both satisfied with the intensity of the visit while feeling bound to warn against exaggerated expectations, see one of the document's many features as being the first bilateral renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine.

"Our new doctrine," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerassimov says, "is: let each go his own way."

For the Soviet Union other factors hold pride of place, The joint declaration is the first occasion on which Moscow has dispensed with insisting that the status quo in Europe must remain valid for all time.

Maybe the European traffic lights have now been switched from red to amber, with change as the explicit objective:

"The Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics feel an overriding priority of their policy is to continue with accrued European traditions and thereby to contribution toward surmounting the separation of Europe."

This wording is significant. Separation stands for division, which was probably not used on account of the associations that go with the word division.

Philologists may wonder whether separation is based on the organic unity of, say, a country and acknowledges the organic unity of separated parts of the whole.

Russians bear out this definition and expressly acknowledge that the surmounting of European separation involves surmounting the separation of Germany.

Mr Gorbachov must certainly have sensed that the division of Germany was not just constantly mentioned "to reassure our right-wingers," as *Izvestia* quotes Bonn government officials as saying.

Herr Späth referred in Stuttgart to the "Wall and barbed wire on the construction site that is Europe." Herr Kohl referred, at a candlelight dinner in the Redoute in Bad Godesberg to the division of Germany as an "open wound."

"Reassure our right-wingers indeed!" said an associate of the Chancellor's. "Then I should certainly like to know why the Russians constantly make references to German unity."

The statement by Bonn government spokesman Hans Klein on the first meeting between Mr Gorbachov and Herr Kohl, at which the "German Question played a part," was hardly suitable as the last word on the subject.

"Developments in Europe must not," he said, "be disturbed by destabilisation of any kind."

Development is a dynamic concept, and the intention of surmounting the separation of Europe is based on a dynamism of political processes.

This in turn clashes most decidedly with Moscow's stubborn refusal to settle the Berlin issue once and for all. Bonn had drawn up a once-and-for-all covering clause, but the Russians would hear nothing of it.

As a result the proposed shipping agreement ran aground and may, like the scientific research agreement some years ago, be shelved for ages before headway is made.

Arriving at a compromise on the ensign issue is easier said than done. The Russians want Berlin-registered vessels to hoist a Berlin bear ensign in addition to the German flag. Maybe painting a bear on the side of the ship is the answer.

Bonn can hardly be said to be over-suspicious in feeling that the Soviet Union is determined to maintain the status quo in the divided city. Thoughtful Russians present an argument they expressly state to be strictly "private."

Yet no matter how much individuality has been shown in the views held by more and more journalists and political scientists under Mr Gorbachov, the argument in question definitely comes within the scope of official categories.

At present the Soviet Union is said to be unable to do anything that might change the status quo or give rise to queries whether Moscow is in the process of reviewing or scrapping its policy on Germany.

But firmness on matters of principle need not rule out pragmatism on details.

None of the 11 treaties signed by Eduard Shevardnadze and Hans-Dietrich Genscher and by Wolfgang Schäuble, Norbert Blüm, Heinz Riesenhuber and Jürgen Möllemann and their Soviet counterparts ran aground on the Berlin problem.

The Frank-Falin formula, drawn up in Social Democrat Willy Brandt's days as Bonn Chancellor, held good.

Soviet pragmatism is particularly in evidence where economic and, latterly, scientific cooperation is concerned.

This cooperation is based on foundations that stood firm even during political freezes, as Mr Gorbachov noted, and — paradoxically — only grew shakier when the thaw came.

The Soviet Union has made it incontestably clear that its No. 1 economic *partner, as Mr Gorbachov told leading* German businessmen in Cologne, *is the* Federal Republic of Germany.

It is and will remain the No. 1 because other attempts at orientation, with Japan or, say, the United States, are less promising in the long term.

Mr Gorbachov, in his speech to German businessmen, showed himself to be *well-informed, but his blandishments and* inveigling, his suggestion that they might be prepared to run a risk now in view of the future prospects, met with a sceptical response.

The chamber of commerce and industry, which Mr Gorbachov addressed, has its complement of expertise on trade with the East, including experience of doing business with the Soviet Union in the age of perestroika.

It was no coincidence that the Stuttgart chamber of commerce and industry published just before Mr Gorbachov visited the city a report on the ability of Soviet enterprises in the Leningrad region to cooperate with German firms.

It arrived at the *conclusion that their* ability was strictly limited, and bedevilled by gigantic enterprises, the technological gap and red tape.

In Cologne three speakers told Mr Gorbachov that the problems arose in the Soviet Union itself. Soviet expectations fly sky-high, while German executives prefer to keep both feet firmly on the ground.

Are they alone in this respect? German expectations are felt at the Chancellor's Office to be exaggerated too. The aftermath of this euphoria could be most alarming.

My Soviet friend has a consolation at the ready. "Don't worry," he says, "we'll all be back down to earth soon enough."

Eduard Neumaier

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 16 June 1989)

■ EUROPE

Much more than just a larger market is needed to maintain unity

Why should anyone vote for Europe, to use the vague but beseeching Europarliamentary election slogan the major parties all prefer?

The 1992 economic integration deadline may have given the European Community fresh impetus after years of moping. Maybe the single internal market will indeed create new jobs and greater prosperity.

But the prospect of a more affluent and well-fed Western Europe, pleasant though it may be, is at best sufficient for the captains of industry.

Voters need more to appeal to their imagination: the feeling, say, that the shape of Europe to come will make a political difference too.

Yet there was as little feeling of that in the campaign as there has been in the numerous speeches voicing great expectations of 1992.

In European Community capitals, London excepted, the political structure and tasks awaiting Western Europe are no longer even a matter for dispute.

Even Helmut Kohl, who at present is the most forthright and keenly committed leading German politician where European integration is concerned, is somewhat at a loss for words when he is asked what political benefit we can expect to derive from the exercise.

"Economic integration," he says, "will be accompanied by a major political move toward European Union." In other words, the single internal market will, somehow or other, *lead to major political progress.*

This is a point on which agreement is general, and not just in Bonn. An equally general aspect of this sentiment is that no-one can say for sure what form this headway might take.

Yet the task that lies ahead is self-evident. The European Community must become a security factor in Europe.

To the East it must lend economic support to Eastern Europe's difficult transition toward a pluralistic opening.

To the West it must gradually replace the hierarchic structure of Nato by a Euro-American security partnership on the basis of equality.

Mikhail Gorbachov, who has just paid the Federal Republic his first visit, played a part in forcing Western Europe to accept responsibility for security.

The Soviet leader has begun to reduce Moscow's military superiority in Europe, as a result of which military aspects no longer overshadow politics on the Continent.

He has also granted the Eastern European member-states of the Warsaw Pact unaccustomed political leeway.

The military threat is less serious, but fresh dangers loom on the horizon.

Should political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe fail to pave the way for an imminent solution to communist economic hardship, the reformers could soon find themselves ousted and replaced.

It is no longer Western Europe that is primarily threatened by the Red Army; Europe as a whole is threatened by instability in the socialist camp.

Military means will not solve this problem. Economic solutions are the likeliest prospect of a change for the better, and in this sector the European Community is a world power, and will be even more of one once the internal market is in full swing.

If there is anything that can give one of the countries of Eastern Europe, living as they often do on the brink of resignation, a ray of hope, of something to look forward to, then it is the hope of gaining access, sometime, somehow, to the Western European market.

And hope alone can build up long-term stability.

A debate on how the Community ought to run its relations with Eastern Europe with a view to achieving this objective is long overdue.

Full membership of the European Community for Comecon states would surely be the wrong approach, being bound to give rise to insecurity and mistrust in Moscow, and to reduce the Community to the status of an economic union without a political identity.

For the same reason the neutral and non-aligned European countries are unsuitable for full membership of the Community.

What, then, about associate membership status? By virtue of the intra-German trade protocol, which forms part of the Treaty of Rome, merchandise from the GDR can enter the Federal Republic free of customs or excise duties.

Once the internal market is established, goods from the GDR may well have free access to the entire European Community.

Bonn's partners in the Community are not keen on this idea and have already raised objections; the Federal government has no intention of turning a deaf ear to them.

Dorothee Willms, Intra-German Relations Minister, recently stated that intra-German trade must not become "turntable" the of the GDR's trade with the West."

But why must we be so pedantic and so scared? Why shouldn't the Communit become the turntable of Eastern Europe's



trade with the West, always supposing the East can hold its own in competition?

Last but not least, ought we to be thinking in terms of a Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe? New large-scale loans, no matter how stringent the terms, will be no help as long as economic structures in Eastern Europe remain hostile to quality and competition.

The Community would be well advised not to dictate terms or conditions to East bloc governments.

Instead it could call on these countries, just like George G. Marshall did in his famous 1947 Harvard address, to draw up joint proposals on how best to coordinate economic cooperation with the European Community.

To date, however, Western Europe has shirked this debate. Member-countries will hear nothing of their new-found responsibility for security in Eastern Europe.

Jacques Delors, who is otherwise so active at the helm of the European Commission in Brussels, has set up a comprehensive group of advisers to ponder over the foreign and security policy ramifications of the internal market.

But he is virtually on his own in doing so. His greatest disappointment, he recently told the *Financial Times*, was that the 12 member-countries had yet to agree on a Community policy toward Eastern Europe. The major security task the Community faces is to provide economic incentives so as to prevent dangerous political instability on Western Europe's periphery.

That will be particularly important once the internal market has increased substantially the scope for bringing influence to bear — on Eastern Europe today and maybe in the Middle East or in North Africa tomorrow.

Another challenge arises in connection with relations with Western Europe's traditionally ally the United States. Can Western Europe emerge as an equal, self-assured and responsible security partner of the United States?

As fears of military threat recede, the Atlantic gap grows wider, with America no longer seeing threats to its security mainly in Europe and Western Europe no longer seeing American backing as its sole security guarantee.

With his latest disarmament initiative President Bush has even equated US forces in Western Europe with Soviet forces in Eastern Europe. Both are to be reduced to equal ceilings.

At all events Mr Bush no longer feels the US military presence in Europe to be a taboo. He is now reputed to have wanted to reduce US service personnel in Western Europe by 75,000, and not by the 30,000 he eventually suggested, but was dissuaded by the Pentagon.

As the Atlantic grows wider the hierarchic alliance structure of old is steadily less able to bridge the gap.

Maybe what is needed in the partnership between the United States and a European Community envisaged by President Kennedy a quarter of a century ago.

Western Europeans weren't interested at the time, and they have since stopped short at going ahead with closer Western European defence cooperation because that would have been at Nato's expense — and at that of their own security.

Now their security is no longer as threatened as it used to be, they might consider running the risk.

Here too America has been the prompter. A week before flying to Europe, President Bush outdid his predecessors by promising a united (Western) Europe his full support even if its establishment were to give rise to fresh tension.

"The United States welcomes (Western) Europe's emergence as a partner in the West's international responsibility," Mr Bush told an audience at Boston University.

"We are prepared," he added, "to draw up, with the European Community and its member-states, new procedures of consultation and cooperation on political and global problems."

No answer was forthcoming on his European tour. There has been no lack of statements by a number of ranking politicians that Europe must at long last arrive at an identity of its own, not only in the economic sector but in foreign and security policy too.

In the February 1986 Single European Act, which laid the groundwork for the internal market, the "high contracting parties," including Britain's Margaret Thatcher, stressed that closer cooperation on matters of European security were suitable "to make a substantial contribution toward the development of a European foreign policy identity."

Convenience of ideas is not the only obstacle to this wish; there are also obstacles of the past that some would like to raise even higher.

Mrs Thatcher, for instance, would dearly like to nip in the bud any European pre-coordination within Nato. François Mitterrand unswervingly upholds the myth of French defence autonomy.

There is no lack of institutions that might foster closer coordination in defence and security policy, but they have always led a shadowy existence largely due to these contrasting positions.

European Political Cooperation, a constant network of consultation between the Foreign Ministries of European Community member-countries, has similarly failed to live up to the high hopes placed in it.

European Political Cooperation, as European expert Werner Weidenfeld recently put it, is limited to "agreement by the millimetre."

Institutions ought, in any case, to be the end, and not the beginning, of a reappraisal. Western Europe must tread carefully in seeking to come out from under America's wing and arrive at a security policy of its own.

Western Europeans must first practise military cooperation within a Nato framework. Then, and then only, can they think in terms of reframing the Atlantic pact.

They might, for instance, be guided by the example of the European Monetary System, which has made monetary stability in Europe possible with a minimum of institutional input for the past 10 years.

Participation is voluntary, with a wide and graduated bandwidth being permitted.

In security policy the EMS principle might involve some countries subordinating their armed forces to a joint training command while others couple their long-term arms planning and yet others jointly develop a system of reconnaissance satellites.

Any such system would be equally useful as an early warning facility and to monitor disarmament agreements — and to do so alongside Nato, and not against it.

That, for sure, would be security policy à la carte, but Western Europe has to get started somewhere.

"A European identity," as French Premier Michel Rocard rightly puts it, "cannot be developed in a rigid, inflexible framework. It is a special network of cooperation and solidarity, depending on the individual circumstances."

Agreement on exact details of implementation isn't needed as long as all concerned are agreed that Western Europe must come more into its own in security policy.

Yet are all concerned so agreed? Doubts arise. Maybe that is why they prefer to talk about the single internal market rather than about the political and security policy responsibility Western Europe holds as a result of this new power position.

In the final analysis this makes the 1992 internal market deadline doubtful. As a mere market Europe is not going to be united. Everyone who is put to disadvantage as a result of the competitive thrust will clamour for less integration, not more.

Without a political mandate to make the larger market attractive in more than mere economic terms the Community will run a risk of renationalisation, of fragmentation, not integration.

People are rightly reluctant to be mobilised in support of a fat but aimless Europe. If Western Europe sleeps through the winds of change in world affairs it could end up, in a few years' time, with no-one shedding a tear for it.

Christoph Bertram

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 16 June 1989)

■ PERSPECTIVE

How a Königswinter forum became an institution

Forty years ago two women and five men went along to the local court in Düsseldorf, a city which had been above all been devastated during the war by British bombs, to register the Deutsch-Englische Gesellschaft (Anglo-German Society — DEG).

They could hardly suspect at the time just how fruitful this project would turn out to be.

Once bilateral organisations of this kind become "official" they run the risk of being instrumentalised by governments.

On no account did the seven founder members of DEG, led by Frau Lilo Milchsack from Wittlaer, want their organisation to suffer this fate.

Their underlying intention was to organise private meetings for frank exchanges on the — in the broadest sense of the word — culture of these two countries as well as find common political ground.

In their endeavour they had the support of a clever partner on the British side: Robert Birley, who later became headmaster of Eton College and who had been the British military government's representative for education since 1947, Germany's first post-war "Minister of Education" so to speak.

Birley had begun to invite Germans to his home for weekend symposia.

During the 30s he experienced that the military victory over Germany in 1918 was not enough to pacify this nation.

To avoid the errors mistakes of the past the Germans should now be helped to return to the fold of European states.

DEG began a series of lectures in Düsseldorf in early summer 1949.

Anne Dreydel, who was to meet many young Germans in later years in her capacity as head of a language school in the north of Oxford, lectured on the English novel; Walter Erben talked about Henry Moore; Max Grünhut, an expert in criminal law who had come to Oxford from Bonn after being expelled by the Nazis, discussed youth crime; and Georg Muche outlined the impact of the Bauhaus style of arichitecture abroad.

The choice of the latter subject shows that the aim of DEG was not to instil an inferiority complex into the German members of the audience.

It was hoped that they would learn to respect themselves as well as others. Censorious disparagement was not regarded as the right approach.

These guest lectures by British and German experts are still organised today in many cities in both countries.

The Königswinter Conferences, the first of which was held in 1950, turned out to be the most fruitful undertaking of all.

The grey Adam-Stegerwald-Haus of the Christian trade unions in Königswinter was one of the few places in the vicinity of Bonn which could house a conference at that time.

Even after the decision was taken in the 60s to hold the conferences every second year in either an Oxford or Cambrige college, Königswinter remained the traditional German venue for these meetings.

The first conference in Königswinter in 1950 brought together social workers from both countries. The main topic was destitution, especially in the destroyed Ruhr area.

The second conference in 1951 was a gathering of journalists and politicians, who met to discuss the task of the press in democracies.

The basic form of the annual conferences had been found: a symposium of hand-picked members of parliament, journalists, bankers, businessmen, trade union leaders, scientists with a political interest, educationalists, high-ranking officials, and — albeit only as guests — a number of active diplomats. The group was supplemented every year.

No-one was allowed to invite herself/himself, and the selection was a matter of discretion and, as it turned out, of the good judgement of the "private persons" in the DEG committee and of their advisers.

With the exception of the contributions to the discussion in the final session the conferences were confidential.

The final reports on these gatherings — of which there are summaries by Christoph von Imhoff and Stephan G. Thomas as well as an scientific-cum-historical study by Ralph Uhlig — not only reflect the changes in the Anglo-German relationship since the days of occupation, but also in the relationship to other countries, in particular America, France and the Soviet Union.

A review of DEG's activities reveals that the first ten years, up until about 1959, were the most difficult yet most interesting period.

During this period there were many awkward misunderstandings, for example, over the question of rearmament, Deutschlandpolitik or the political development within the Federal Republic of Germany itself.

Could the Germans be trusted? And, on the other hand, could the Federal Republic of Germany rely on British policy with respect to the question of rearmament in view of the apparently greater importance attached to the Commonwealth than to the future of the European continent?

There were heated discussions between German and British experts, for example, between Social Democrats such as Fritz Erler and Helmut Schmidt and spirited Labour MPs such as Barbara Castle, Tony Benn and Richard Crossman.

There were plenty of irritations and mutual disappointments towards the end of the 50s when British politicians tried to win over German support for denuclearisation in Central Europe (Rapacki Plan, Gaitskell Plan, Eden Plan) or suggested abandoning the "sterile" policy of non-recognition of the Ulbricht regime in East Germany.

In their eyes Adenauer was the embodiment of such "stubbornness".

In the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, many people were irritated at Macmillan's attempts to pursue a policy of detente towards Moscow on his own.

Discussions during the 60s and 70s centred on the European Community.

Other topics were the common problems associated with modern civilisation, student unrest, terrorism, the oil crisis, the dollar, the pound and the deutschmark, the Third World and its debt crisis, and the new parties in parliament — the SDP in Britain and the Greens in Germany.

Many Anglo-German differences of opinion were ironed out over the years, whereas others emerged anew.

The national differences between "German" and "British" standpoints became less important and were outweighed in significance by the parallel interests of the respectively two largest people's parties.

Many standpoints have been completely reversed, for example, in the relationship to the Soviet Union.

During recent years the British urged greater sobriety, whereas great expectations developed in Bonn.

Entire generations of politicians from both countries met in at the Königswinter conferences.

Although the atmosphere was always marked by a (critically moderated) Anglophilia or Germanophilia the basic principle was pluralistic representation.

Many British people were familiar with Germany from their experiences during the 30s and had no special liking for the Germans.

The irritations caused, for example, by Richard Crossman, who never evaded a dispute, were only bearable because of the desired frankness of discussions.

The earnestness of the other side became discernible in the heat of the argument.

"Königswinter" was frequently a controversial affair. It was never a love feast, even though Lilo Milchsack, busily organising in the wings, and the clever and benevolent Sir Robert Birley also struck this note in many a farewell speech.

The value of these annual gatherings *consisted in the articulation of "ideas"*, the sounding out of positions, and the measurement of the temperature of the mutual relationship.

The congregation of such a large number of influential persons provided a unique opportunity.

"Königswinter" developed into a forecourt of politics, in which trial talks on European foreign policy could take place in a knowledgeable yet non-committal manner.

During the long period of the almost exclusive fostering of the Franco-German relationship "Königswinter" provided an unofficial counterpoise.

The setting up of a standing Anglo-German parliamentary group in the House of Commons was a direct result of the "private" ties established in Königswinter.

"Königswinter" became a model for other similar bilateral discussion circles. However, its intimacy and its success were not, if we are not mistaken, achieved in elsewhere.

The secret of success probably lies in the extent to which the character of DEG was shaped by its Düsseldorf founder members and by the circle of friends in both countries.

A special steering committee selects the discussion topics and the persons to attend the conferences.

Although the latter always include a core of persons who have known each other for many years, a fact which helps retain a climate of continuity, the new conferees chosen each year bring along new ideas.

During recent years, of course, a number of "Greens" were invited from both countries.

To learn from them or to help them learn? Who can tell?

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 June 1989)

■ THE WORKFORCE

Local Greens want public contracts given only to firms which treat women fairly

The Greens on the city council at Bielefeld, in Lower Saxony, want public contracts to be awarded only to companies which make special efforts to employ and promote women. This is a common practice in America. In this article for the Hamburg Sunday paper, *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, Uwe Pollmann goes into the background of this pioneering proposal and examines some of the problems.

When the Greens in Bielefeld put their proposals for equal opportunities before the city council, the traditional parties, the CDU, FDP and SDP, said they were unrealistic. Many councillors just laughed at the Greens' ignorance of economics.

The Greens were demanding that "privileged" public contracts should only be offered to private companies which offered women privileges and not to the cheapest tender.

Tendering companies would have to say how many women they employed at all levels — among the lower echelons as well as in middle management and at executive level.

The Greens pointed out to a bemused council that this would persuade companies to rethink about whom they employed.

But the laughter stuck in the throats of the conservatives and free-market-economy liberals when the Greens pointed out that this was a feature of American legislation. All three major parties admitted this surprised them.

The proposal has been lodged with the North Rhine-Westphalia Economic Affairs Ministry in Düsseldorf. The *Land*, run by an SPD government, is examining whether legislation allows such intervention in the free market. It is an angle the Greens did not expect.

In America, this type of contract condition became usual in the 1960s when it was recommended from presidential level that local governments, the states and the capital, Washington, should give contracts to companies which gave priority to women and members of disadvantaged minorities.

The change in American working life began in 1972 with an anti-discimination law. Companies employing more than 50 and wanting state contracts valued at more than $50,000 were obliged to produce a plan to further women and fulfill it.

This was a procedure which had real effect. America's Equal Opportunities League for Woman confirms this. Prejudice against women is dwindling in America according to various studies. More and more women are finding the way open to them to jobs which were previously reserved for men.

This is not surprising for the men in the executive suites discovered that female managers were just as qualified as their male counterparts.

Even the conservative Reagan administration did not dare touch this legislation, to the astonishment of the CDU/CSU and FDP in the Federal Republic. Several, albeit serious changes were introduced. The conditions of the women's promotion law were to be applied on contracts over $100,000.

In the 1970s European countries such as Sweden, Norway, Denmark and France, followed suit with similar promotion plans. In the Federal Republic support for woman had to wait until well into the 1980s, and then it was limited to the public service only.

The Greens in Bielefeld take the view that it is about time that there was a change and the American legislation should be used as a model for a nationwide policy.

The Bielefeld CDU and FDP were slightly "anti-American" on this point and shook their heads. The SPD were convinced by the Greens, but they did see legal difficulties.

They pointed out that there would be opposition to a local administration going it alone. The regulations on tendering would have to be changed, not only German legislation but the European Community's as well.

But the Greens did not give way and the council decided, with an SPD-Greens majority, that the council would work out a proposal with the office for equal job opportunities for women.

Jürgen Heinrich, head of the personnel department in Bielefeld, said that in addition the state government in Düsseldorf would be requested to work out a similar regulation for the whole of North Rhine-Westphalia.

It was pointed out at the Conference of German Cities that this meant that Bielefeld would the first local administration to put industry under pressure to introduce quotas for women in their employ. Only North Rhine-Westphalia has so far made a small step in this direction.

In 1986 the state prompted local governments to award public contracts to companies which made trainee places available to girls.

The Greens in the Bundestag tried to change the legislation governing the awarding of government contracts and explained the pros and cons in a public hearing.

They have now presented to the appropriate Bundestag committees a proposal for anti-discrimination legislation. It demands a 50 per cent quota for women in all companies and administrations.

This is a proposal which goes too far for the SPD. They want to limit the quota system to the public service.

Notwithstanding, the proposals made by the Greens and the SPD in Bielefeld will be examined by the North Rhine-Westphalia SPD government.

A spokesman for the Düsseldorf Economic Affairs Ministry warned, however, against too much optimism.

He said: "European and German legislation governing tenders is a complicated matter." He said that officials would have to go through the regulations concerning tendering to see whether new arrangements were possible.

Lawyers have said that it would be illegal to alter this legislation.

Nervertheless, Ulla Knapp, responsible for equal opportunities in the Düsseldorf Ministry, said that the matter would be examined from a legal and a procedural point of view.

But she is confident of success and she knows what she is talking about. At the end of last year she visited America and looked into the situation there, making enquiries about experiences gained from the anti-discrimination legislation.

She reported: "It is a fact that in all of the larger companies there is a women's promotion plan. Companies which have included plans of this kind in their recruitment policies have employed more women than the others."

Knapp said that this had come about in American companies not just because there was legislation "but also because firms have learned that women are just as efficient or more efficient than men."

She said that not only were women's organisations and employers unions for the legislation "but the whole of industry."

This is an example for German employers who, until now, have been against women quotas. But it would be some years before such legislation for plans to promote women's interests at work would become law, Ulla Knapp said.

Examinations would have to be made about the legal problem of giving information about the make-up of a company eligible for public contracts, and it must be made clear how it would affect administrations if the legislation concerning tendering were altered.

The politicians in Bielefeld really did not imagine that the procedure would be so difficult.

Jürgen Heinrich himself is not yet certain what shape a regulation governing tendering including a proviso about the promotion of women in employment would take.

He said that if, for a building contract, only firms which did not employ women applied for it "we naturally could not turn them down."

The politicians in Bielefeld are confident that should this legislation come into effect many building firms would see that they would get contracts faster if they took on a few women. There would then be real competition.

Heinrich was undismayed by the lack of understanding for the Bielefeld proposals within the relevant offices of the Conference of West German Cities responsible for promoting the employment of women.

He said: "That did not shock us. Bielefeld followed on Berlin and Bremen in setting up an equal opportunuities for women office. At the time this was laughed down on all sides."

Should the state decide against an amendment to the law would the Greens in Bielefeld "go it alone?"

Ulla Behrmann, leader of the Greens on the council, explained: "Even if a city cannot on its own alter the tender regulations for building contracts, an individual rule for cities in procurement matters is always possible."

The city could apply a women's quota at least in purchases from pencils to trucks for the administration, she said.

The Greens themselves doubt this would be enough. But at least it would be better than fine words.

The past has shown that women gain nothing by just calls for companies to have their own plans to promote women. Employers only take them on more frequently for low-paid jobs. They do not get a look-in for better positions.

Two years ago Ernst Benda, CDU, former president of the Federal Constitutional Court, wrote in a report for the Hamburg city government on women in the public service: "Keeping top jobs and highly qualified positions exclusively for men is manifestly a social injustice."

He said that without additional support and statutory regulations it could not be counted on that any effective progress would be made over an appropriate period of time within government administrations.

Uwe Pollmann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 9 June 1989)

Project to help mothers return to work

The Bonn government is backing a project designed to help women who have brought up their families return to working life.

Seventeen advice centres opened in all *Länder* this month. The ministry responsible for women is paying out five million marks over three years.

The Minister, Ursula Lehr, says the centres will give women seeking advice information about getting more involved in the professions or voluntary work outside the home after having brought up a family.

The centres will perform a dual function. On the one hand, they will give women extensive advice about all the possibilities in the locality for training, further training and re-training, voluntary work, setting up a business and employment, or arrange interviews for women with authorities which make suitable job offers.

As an example of these the Minister named women's associations, labour offices, establishments for further training and chambers of industry. Should women have definite ideas about work they would have to consult and find a job through the local labour office.

The second function is to build up local contacts and influence the organisations mentioned above so that they extend their services to women who want to return to work.

This will guarantee that job possibilities for women wanting to be working women again will be improved.

Until now there has been a lack of advice establishments in the countryside which can be reached easily. This pilot project plans to open up new possibilities in this field.

A mobile advisory team will tour the rural districts in North Friesland in a bus. According to Frau Lehr this pilot project is the first part of the government's special programme for the re-employment of women.

The second part, a pilot programme for qualified women wishing to return to work, is currently being prepared.

It is proposed to include in this training programmes for professional women returning to employment.

The Ministry will make DM25m available for this programme over the next five years.

Quoting calculations prepared by the institute for the work market and vocational research she said that it was expected that 320,000 women would return to work annually.

More than two million women, currently devoting all their time to the family, will be returning to work in the coming years.

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 5 June 1989)

■ AVIATION

750,000 trees for Munich's new airport

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Munich's new airport-to-be is at present best described as the largest construction site in Europe. It consists of a forest of 40 cranes, mountains of aggregate and boards listing 150 planning and construction contractors.

There is a containerised camp where some of the 2,740 construction workers live. There is a brisk bus and truck traffic on the finished runways.

The runways, incidentally, will soon be pockmarked with holes through which roughly 750km of empty pipes are to be laid.

What with the first flights to and from a helipad, Munich 2 is a hive of activity in which there is no apparent rhyme or reason.

Yet work is going ahead on schedule. Not one of the roughly 10,000 contracts has yet been completed so far behind schedule that penalties have been due.

Construction of the 78-metre (256ft) control tower, the 1.3km (1,420-yard) S-Bahn tunnel beneath the runway and the two 4,000-metre (2.5-mile) take-off and landing runways went ahead smoothly in what has been a very mild winter.

At this stage of construction 1,500 tons of cement and 1,300 tons of aggregate a day are being used in the run-up to even brisker activity.

From this summer about 5,000 people will be working on the 1,500-hectare (3,750-acre) site 28km (16 miles) north of Munich to ensure that the topping-out ceremony can take place on 11 September as planned.

Klaus Nitschke, business manager of the airport authority, has no fears of imminent legal rulings on noise abatement and flight routes causing further delay.

His original brief was to finish work on a new airport to replace München-Riem by 1986/87. Work was delayed by several court cases and a four-year ban on further construction work that cost DM300m.

Professor Nitschke, 60, says: "We will probably have to pay noise-strapped local residents millions in compensation; we are wax in the courts' hands." The planners are experienced spenders of marks by the million. Seldom has an international airport been designed to meet such exacting standards and requirements as Munich 2.

Environmental protection is only one cost factor in an overall expenditure of which the total is still unknown.

The original site is so marshy that a tunnel two metres in diameter had to be dug to drain off the ground water and feed it back into the natural cycle.

Ditches built on either side of the runways are designed to drain off rain, melting snow and, should the need arise, kerosene spillage.

They are being covered in netting to keep birds at bay. Birds are unwanted; collisions with them can cause serious aircraft damage.

That is why the grass sown is a particularly low-seed variety chosen because birds should show little interest in it.

Munich 2, which is not to be named after the late Franz Josef Strauss, has already cost DM100m in landscape design.

A further 750,000 trees and shrubs are to be planted, while 230 hectares (575 acres) of land has been bought for conversion into replacement wetlands.

"Not an airport in the world has been designed with such consideration for the environment," Professor Nitschke says.

Big plans

Even Lufthansa, he says, has inundated the airport authority, in which Bavaria holds a 51-per-cent, the Federal government a 26-per-cent and the city of Munich a 23-per-cent stake, with demands.

Once the new airport is in operation, in spring 1992, it will handle between 12 and 14 million passengers and 250,000 tons of air freight a year, airline officials say.

Lufthansa alone plans 19 intercontinental flights a day.

By the end of the century Munich 2 should be handling 24 million passengers a year. Munich 1 — Riem — already handles 10 million, and every other flight is delayed.

The original plan, drawn up in 1979, was scaled down under court pressure in 1984, a year of economic downturn.

That was a decision which has now boomeranged, necessitating costly further planning.

This summer Lufthansa are starting work on hangars 300 metres (328

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Airspace 'not overcrowded, just badly organised'

Saarbrücker Zeitung

No air space is busier than Europe's, and none has so many invisible frontiers. Forty-two control centres with different systems are in charge of air traffic.

Nowhere in the world is there so much military air space that is off limits to civil aviation. Yet as Klaus Nitschke, European president of the International Airport Authorities' Association, puts it: "The sky isn't full; aviation is merely poorly administered."

Professor Nitschke is business manager of the Munich airport authority, which is building what will be the second-largest airport in Europe 28km (16 miles) north of the Bavarian capital.

Meeting in Munich at the end of May, representatives of 850 airports that between them handle 75 per cent of the Western world's regular air traffic discussed the increasingly pressing problems of overcrowded air space and airports — and what to do about them.

Millions of air travellers (and those who picked them up at the airport) know from personal experience how disastrously air traffic has developed in Europe in recent years.

In 1986 one flight in eight was over a quarter of an hour late in landing. A year later the proportion was 15 per cent, last year 19 per cent.

The total number of flight delays has increased even more dramatically due to the growing number of flights.

Is the constant traffic jam in the air and on the ground at European airports due to a 30-per-cent increase in air traffic since 1986? Partly, of course, it is.

Yet a survey by the Association of European Airports shows seven out of 10 delays to have been due to inadequate ground infrastructure.

By 1995, the association says, the number of flight movements in Europe will increase by a further third. Handling capacity needs to be increased by nearly half.

The post-1992 European internal market will further intensify the problem; it will also be a challenge to try and arrive at a joint solution.

European Community Transport Ministers recently decided to set up a central management system to keep air traffic on the move. But AEA chairman Karl-Heinz Neumeister sees this move as mere crisis management on a par with wartime food rationing.

As long as European air space is lined with frontiers there can, as he sees it, be no such thing as a free flow of aircraft.

Air traffic controllers at all 42 European control centres speak English, but the technical systems they use, especially the computers, aren't compatible.

Eurocontrol is a bid to improve coordination, but it has much room for improvement. France has increased its contribution toward Eurocontrol's funding by 43 per cent, but leading European civil aviation countries such as Italy and Spain are not yet part of the system.

The Association of European Airports plans to publish a white paper showing that a single air traffic control system would be both more effective and less expensive.

The deregulation of European civil aviation that will inevitably accompany the European internal market still frequently prompts politicians to voice fears of "American-style" conditions in Europe's already overcrowded air space, said Detlef Winter of the Bonn Transport Ministry.

"No-one in Europe is in favour of any such development," Daniel Tenenbaum, head of the French civil aviation authority, told the 300 airport experts in Munich.

The safety aspects of an open-skies policy were now seriously worrying the US authorities.

The heads of Miami and Denver airports agreed. Denver, the third-largest US airport, has just got its tenth runway.

Fifty new runways are under construction at the 100 largest airports in the United States, and at least three new large-scale airports are felt to be needed.

In Europe both air and ground space are, in contrast, strictly limited.

Munich 2, Professor Nitschke said, would probably be the last major airport to be built on a large scale in Europe.

So open skies were ruled out in Europe, even in the post-1992 single European market with its free flow of goods and people throughout Western Europe.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 3 June 1989)

■ BUSINESS

Aim for the skies, get bigger, merge, take someone over — and go broke

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Major companies have found, it seems, a remedy against the uncertainties of fluctuating markets: angst-ridden managers are buying up everything in sight.

Giant organisations are merging with one another in the mistaken belief that size alone will ensure their survival.

In Germany alone about 1,000 mergers have been reported to the Cartels Office. There are more and more supporters of the idea that size means efficiency.

Firms of consultants and banks have set up special departments to handle mergers & acquisitions, in line with the American example.

But the very example of North America shows that merger fever can lead to chronic suffering from which a national economy cannot properly recover.

America also demonstrates that the constant greed for more can cause rapid problems. More than a half of all acquisitions have to be sold off again below the purchase price after five to ten years.

Consideration should be given to a survey which examined the risks of mergers over a period of 14 years. It was commissioned by the cartel authorities and carried out by Rolf Bühner, a Passau professor of business management. Bühner concluded that nine out of every 10 major mergers fails.

As soon as a company has reached the size of the Daimler empire, its decline becomes no longer a personal misfortune but a disaster to society as a whole.

If a state places itself in a position of dependence on the success of such giants, it becomes a prisoner of the tool it has created. Private power is no longer subjected to public controls.

The concern about interlocking, which grows over a national economy like a cancerous ulcer, has far-reaching roots in the Federal Republic.

The chemicals trust IG Farben, courted by the Nazis, or the coal and steel conglomerates along the Rhine and in the Ruhr, were the cornerstones of the Third Reich dictatorship.

It is true, of course, that the majors in this country are still internationally only minors relatively speaking. But these giants theaten the economy.

Is the constitutional structure of the country adequate to withstand the strains? The logical question must be: should not a company which has become a state within the state be nationalised?

The economic strength developed is more often than not misused to the detriment of competition. Creative destruction is unacceptable as a useful and essential mechanism.

Joseph Schumpeter, the high priest of this idea for many leaders of industry, is mistaken when he declares that monopoly is a decisive motive force for technical progress.

He takes the view that the battle between established monopolies and would-be monopolies raises a "storm of creative destruction."

Existing monopolies and technologies are replaced by new monopolies, which are built up on new technologies.

Daimler boss Edzard Reuter emphasised more than once that a market-dominating position was not a pointer for competition restraint.

But industrial giants are fat. They give little stimulation for technological progress. Freed from risks they become sluggish.

This is confirmed by a glance at the applications for patents. Pioneering inventions are not born in research laboratories lavishly equipped but, exaggerating a little, in garages and backyards.

A survey of the 70 most important inventions of the 20th century showed that they were produced by independent inventors and boffins.

Consumers are also not served by large companies. It happens often enough that new products, acceptable to society because they are environmentally friendly, have been held back so long as money could be made with conventional products.

It is not new to say that small companies with highly motivated staff members can react faster to market changes than the giants, but it is more to the point today than it ever was.

The discreet industrial giants in the country deploy an impressive economic clout.

But the Nuremberg institute for employment and vocation research has made an interesting observation: the smaller the company the more jobs the company has created.

A total of 672,000 new jobs were created between 1977 and 1983 in small companies.

In medium-sized companies the workforce has declined by 36,000.

The giants come off worst: more than 220,000 jobs have been lost.

The same is true for America. Since 1970 the 500 largest companies have, on balance, not been able to create a single new workplace.

To help bring into the world monstrously deformed units does not deserve the name "industrial *policy*."

Major companies have a *better* chance of getting state contracts and *are* smarter at getting *subsidies*. Privileges have to be handed *out to them*, which consolidates *their* position of superior strength.

The industrial oligarchies, rusted up, must be broken up for the benefit of all. State subsidies should not be granted to established products and companies which are bogged down, but to innovative small companies and, primarily, medium-sized undertakings.

Only in this way can a sense of setting out on a completely new road be produced.

Klaus Gertoberens

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, *Munich*, 3 June 1989)

Continued from page 7

yards) long to hold six jumbos. Professor Nitschke is already thinking in terms of a third runway. "Dallas-Fort Worth has ten," he says.

By the mid-1990s a second terminal will be needed. The first is designed to handle 50,000 passengers a day. A main, long-distance railway station will also be built "some day."

Even without these medium-term embellishments Munich 2 will have cost at least DM7bn by the time it is ready for fitting out in mid-1991. That is twice the 1985 cost estimate.

"It will definitely be the last airport of its size to be built in Europe," Professor Nitschke says.

He is European president of the International Airport Authorities' Association, which met in Munich at the end of May.

The only Continental airport larger than Munich 2 will be Charles de Gaulle airport, Paris.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 29 May 1989)

Bunsen burners, beakers and all that sort of thing

Europe's chemicals industry is made up of about 10,000 companies with 2.1 million employees. It had last year a turnover of 293 million Ecus (about DM600bn), a four-per-cent growth in production and a 10-per-cent increase in investment.

About a sixth of the companies and a quarter of the jobs are in Germany, which also accounts for a quarter of turnover. These figures exclude overseas business, which is expanding all the time.

These European figures also include the European Free Trade Association (Efta) countries. The chemicals industry, which influences the top ranks of science and technology in all countries, is way ahead of political developments and blasted open European frontiers a long time ago.

The chemicals industry associations of Switzerland, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Austria have traditionally always been members of the European umbrella organisation, Cefic,

A peculiarity of this association of associations is that most major companies in the sector are directly associated with it and form their own grouping within it. This grouping often proves itself to be virtually the driving force behind the association's initiatives.

Its negotiating talents have resulted in agrement being reached on just more than the lowest common denominator after lengthy exchanges of opinions.

At a European level, with conflicting interests between national industries at differing stages of development, between different ways of thinking and gaping differences in state involvement, the results would almost always have been close to nil.

But this industry cannot afford this in various critical matters. Clear statements are always called for on such matters as environmental protection, the waste-disposal industry or a united industry stance on the ticklish question of chemical weapons. Furthermore in more and more countries the industry is coming under the critical eye of a sceptical public.

One of the internal problems the industry has to come to grips with is that there is differing public pressure in the North to that applied in the South.

For a long time public opinion has not been so strident about the chemicals industry applying sensible protective measures in other countries, while German companies (and their association) have more often than not anticipated or outdone off their own bat state intentions.

Yet there is no point in having state-recommended controls if the equipment to implement them is not to hand.

Many Southern European countries would welcome, as a contribution to their competitivity, the legislative lashes about which their colleagues in the North complain.

Thus it is all the more remarkable that Cefic insists on finding a way for standardised guidelines.

In view of the variety of national and individual company interests it is understood that no major developments can be expected.

In the end this involves the cooperation of competitors, who in day to day affairs fight each other generally with every trick in the book.

But small developments can lead to results. There is a good example in the waste-disposal industry.

Cefic has not only prepared substantial, practical instructions for dealing with chemical waste but has also come out with far-reaching ideas.

These instuctions deal with minimising chemical waste through recycling *and an interlinked system about the* choice for disposal methods.

Former Cefic president Günter Metz (Hoechst) emphasised at this year's meeting of the association in Lisbon, speaking before Cefic members and politicians, that waste management should be an international task and required international solutions, such as the construction of communal disposal plant for specific materials.

Various national *approaches for* putting paid to exporting waste *would be* counter-productive.

It is now up to the European association and its national contributors to convince the politicians of the necessity of an international organisation for dealing with chemical waste. The association's lobbyists will have their hands full doing this.

There are many problems to be solved in the run-up to the single European market.

Tenacious efforts are required for EC-wide regulations on *bio*-technology, patents, merger controls, value-added tax and environmental protection.

The chemicals industry's strategy makes it clear that European policy should not be a matter for EC committees solely, but it must be formed in cooperation with those affected.

Officials in Brussels with their enthusiasm for making rules, should not have the upper hand.

This strategy shows equally that the people affected must for once agree among themselves, if they want to have some effect.

It also indicates that the path to a united Europe is infinitely arduous and still very long.

Joachim Weber

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 June 1989)

■ RESEARCH

No end to the things a laser can do

Lasers, invented by Theodore Maiman a mere 28 years ago, have been quick to emerge as a worldwide industry. The world market for optoelectronic components, of which the laser (short for light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation) accounts for just under eight per cent, is said by the Prognos Institute, Basle, to total over DM20bn now and is expected to increase to DM35bn by 1995. The Federal Republic of Germany is a major manufacturer, as visitors to the Munich trade fair Laser 89 could see for themselves.

The uses to which lasers can be put are almost limitless. The innovative potential of systems that include optoelectronic components largely accounts for the laser's economic clout.

Optoelectronics, incidentally, is the combination of optical and electronic components.

Leading industries affected by changes resulting from the use of lasers and optoelectronic components include electrical and mechanical engineering, chemicals, electronics, communications and medicine.

Their joint annual turnover in the Federal Republic is roughly DM700bn. The market for optoelectronic systems is worth about DM52bn a year and considered to have substantial growth potential.

Laser-based technology development may still be in its early days, but lasers are already used in many civil, and not just military (SDI), contexts.

They include industrial material processing, such as welding, drilling, cutting and surface treatment, and medicine, such as eye surgery and stopping stomach bleeding.

Then there are non-contact measurement systems, environmental measuring techniques (measuring ozone counts, for instance) and information and communication technologies.

Research promotion strictly geared to user needs and substantial investment by private enterprise have made the Federal Republic the world's foremost supplier of lasers and laser systems for material processing.

About 25 per cent of lasers and systems in this category are made in Germany, as are 36 per cent in the powerful carbon dioxide laser category.

The Prognos survey forecasts world market growth from DM900m today to DM2.2bn in 1995, including double-digit German growth rates.

Between 1987 and 1990 the Federal Research Ministry plans to spend about DM194m on laser research and technology.

Projects backed by the Ministry are supervised by the Technology Centre of the German Engineers' Association (VDI), which advises applicants and evaluates applications.

Grants are mainly awarded to materials processing research projects, with preference being given to projects involving collaboration between several companies.

The Fraunhofer Society's Laser Technology Institute in Aachen is another research facility that collaborates closely with companies active in this sector.

This concentration of research funds on materials processing is not universally welcomed. Klaus Derge, chairman of the exhibitors' advisory council at Laser 89, feels more ought to be done for non-contact hologoraphic measurement and inspection techniques on the brink of a breakthrough.

They include new approaches to identifying material faults and surface deformation.

Western Europe has been left behind in, of all things, the largest laser technology applications sector: information and communications technology.

In consumer electronics, such as compact disc players and camcorders, Japan is said by Prognos to have established a lead that is worth DM11.9bn a year in turnover.

In office automation, such as laser printers and fax equipment, Herr Derge for one feels the gap is so wide that Western Europe stands little or no hope of ever bridging it.

Laser systems may only account for two per cent of applications in this sector, but the market is worth $21bn now and expected to be worth $37bn by 1995.

So it can hardly be classified as of interest only for the Japanese, who virtually reign supreme.

The shortage of specialist staff in the Federal Republic is a further problem. A survey commissioned by the Bonn Research Ministry forecasts manpower demand for about 160,000 laser technology specialists by the year 2005.

That is roughly ten times as many people as are employed in the German laser industry today. So despite the efforts undertaken by the VDI Technology Centre, for instance, to provide training facilities, technological progress could well be hampered by qualified staff being in short supply.

Gerhard Bläske

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 10 June 1989)

Ariane puts German telecom satellite up into orbit

Tension gave way to relief at the European space centre in Kourou, French Guiana, when the Ariane 44 L rocket was finally launched, successfully and with no further upsets, on 6 June after a series of mishaps and delays.

This 31st Ariane to be launched was a premiere in several respects. It was, for one, the most power European-built rocket ever launched, weighing 4,416kg, including a satellite payload of 3,907kg.

It put two satellites into orbit: the Japanese Superbird A and the German telecom satellite DFS-1 Kopernikus.

The Kopernikus, commissioned by the Bundespost, the German Federal postal service, marks the beginning of a new era of satellite-backed telecommunications in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Ariane mission that put it into orbit had a prehistory of disappointments, the last being a launching that was aborted on 26 May.

The technicians were so sure of success that over 150 guests were flown in from Europe and Japan to see the takeoff for themselves.

Operations such as setting the rocket stages upright, encapsulating the two satellites, moving the launcher rocket and its booster rockets to the launching pad and filling the stages with liquid fuel went ahead without mishap.

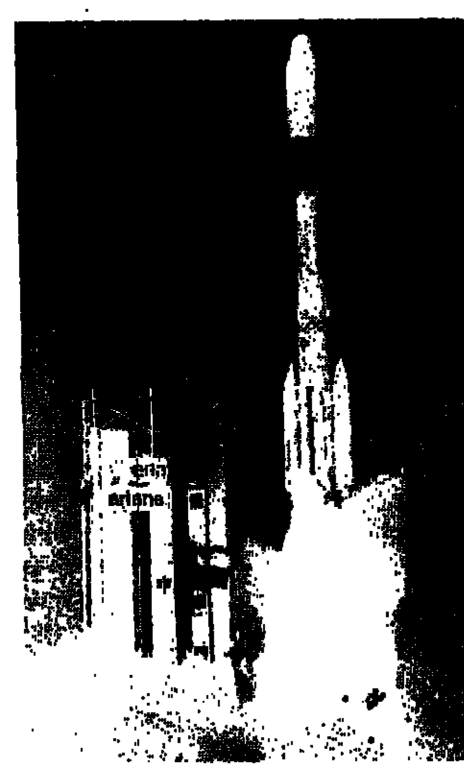
The weather was good too. At takeoff the maximum permissible wind *speed is 17 metres per second, horizontal* visibility must be at least 600 metres and the cloud cover must not be lower than 250 metres.

So the signs were that the launching would go ahead in exemplary fashion at the end of May. But six minutes before blast-off the digital controls went haywire at the operations centre.

About 40 minutes later it was clear that the visitors — space experts, company executives, politicians and journalists — had waited in vain.

Frédéric d'Allest, chief executive officer of Arianespace, stoically announced that the launching would take place the next evening. In the event it was delayed for 10 days.

A leaking membrane had let air into the deep-frozen helium surrounding the rocket motor. Hydrogen was heated and pressure increased in the fuel tank.



Ariane went like a rocket.

(Photo: dpa)

"We would sooner postpone the proceedings," M. d'Allest said, "than allow nearly DM1bn to vanish into thin air, leaving dissatisfied customers to console."

Despite this delay, and extra costs totalling nearly DM3m, the 31st Ariane launching can be classified as a complete success.

*After half an hour's flight the two sat*ellites were put into transfer orbit, leaving their own motors to manoeuvre them into their final positions.

Kopernikus will "hover" over the equator at an altitude of 36,000km and a position of 23.5° E, which it is expected to reach within 24 days of takeoff.

During this manoeuvring phase the Kopernikus will be supervised from the German space control centre in Oberpfaffenhofen, near Munich.

The Bundespost's ground control centre at Usingen, near Frankfurt, will then take over.

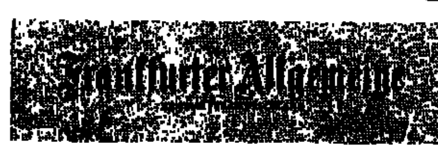
Kopernikus should not be up there on its own for long. The Ariane Mk 5 launcher rocket will soon be past the planning stage too.

Michael N. Lezsak

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 June 1989)

■ **THE ARTS**

The enlightenment the Orient brought to the West



In the 17th century the Italian patrician Pietro della Valle described the strange specimens of clay bricks as looking as if "birds had run across damp sand."

He had brought them home from Persepolis, the ancient capital of the empire of the Archaemenids.

His contemporaries were reminded of wedges, hence the name cuneiform for this script in which the first, great epic of world literature was written, the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.

A fragment of this from the legendary library of King Ashurbanipal at Nineveh is in Berlin, the high point of a major Oriental exhibition, "Europe and the Orient from 800 to 1900," which opened the new "Horizonte Festival."

Two clay shards in a glass case are the starting point for an introduction to a world, for which Europe has felt a sense of longing as for no other.

There is nothing of the 19th century sensuous, lascivious Orient. The exhibition in the Martin Gropius Building is not related to the large exhibition of exoticism put on in Stuttgart two years ago.

There are no dimly-lit interiors in Berlin, no backgrounds of marble-like paper and no draperies of velvet and silk.

There are only white walls in Berlin, which seem to hover a little, filigree glass cases and lots of light which the owners of the exhibits on loan must have authorised.

It was originally intended to entitle the exhibition "Ex oriente lux" and from the very beginning it was intended that the exhibition should recall that enlightenment first came to Europe from the Orient, *with the magnificence* and splendour of a refined culture, but also with the scientific principles of modern civilisation, with astronomy and mathematics, philosophy and medicine.

No episode illustrates better the infinite distance of Europe of the Middle Ages from the cultural centre of the Islamic world than the story of the Franconian crusader, who allowed an Arab doctor to cure him of an abscess and who later allowed him to amputate a foot.

The Arab writer Usama ibn Munqid handed down this story with the astonishment of a man from a superior culture, who could not get worked up at the pinpricks of Christianity on the frontiers of Islam, the crusades.

What meant an enormous effort for Europe, involving also a process of finding a secular identity, was nothing more than a local conflict for the Islamic empire of the East.

The two worlds were never so abrupt and chilly to one another as Christian crusader propaganda would have us believe.

Gerbert d'Aurillac, later Pope Sylvester II (999-1003), was one of the first Christian scholars who, before the turn of the millenium, sat at the feet of Islamic teachers.

Evil tongues later said that he had only done this to seduce the daughter of his master in Cordoba and to steal his library.

It was almost inevitable that the two cultures should make contact on Spanish soil and many people of the time only became aware of difference in traditions and systems of belief with the *Reconquista*.

With the fall of Toledo in 1085 to *become the capital of Castile*, and the Norman conquest of Sicily six years later, two important centres of Islam were drawn into the sphere of Christian power and spread their effect there naturally.

The following two centuries were the great period of translations. Domingo Gonzalez, Gerard of Cremona, Robbert of Ketton and Michael Scotus began to learn something of the important works of Arab literature, the medical compendium of Haly Abbas, the astronomical tables of al-Chwarizmi, the commentaries on Aristotle by Averroe and the metaphysics of Avicenna.

These books are beside one another in the Berlin exhibition, proud documents of earlier erudition and a foretaste for anyone wanting today to know more.

Everyone of these works is a bibliographical treasure, extravagantly illustrated and bound. Everyone is an eye-catcher in its own right. But in the dim rooms with controlled temperature the exhibits lose their effect.

Nevertheless there are things to discover, a noteworthy gallery of portraits from Aristotle to al-Hakim for example, or the abstract cartography of al-Idrisi.

But the impression remains that here treasures are laid out whose historical nature is denied us: mute witnesses of a period, which knew no Orient in our understanding of that term.

This is even more valid for the treasure chambers of the exhibition, black closets, in which rays of light pinpoint *the valuable exhibits, reliquaries made* of Fatimid rock crystal, caskets of ivory and soft fabric which had been preserved in the valuable, clerical paraments of the Church. There are some wonderful things to be seen but it needs a certain amount of detective work to discover them. A Fatimid crystal pot out of the 10th century, for instance, which was reworked three hundred years later in Venice, and which had probably never before left the treasure chamber of the Basilica of San Marco: or a dalmatic from the Church of Our Lady in Gdansk, whose lotus blossoms and palm motives are interchanged with Kufic script: on it is written "as-sultan-al-Sultan," meaning "the wisest sultan."



Les Almées, P-L Bouchard, canvas, Paris, 1893. (Photos: catalogue)

Many of these pieces reveal that there was an astonishing readiness to take over foreign forms and motives for their art and they were not worried by religious contrasts.

Europeans regarded highly the arabesques and knot motives, which *Islam* had developed as a consequence of Islam's rejection of portrayals of the human figure.

Even artists, who took direct part in the conflict with the Saracens, were not averse to using the richness of form devised by their opponents.

It was only a matter of time until commissions were given directly to Arab workshops.

Towards the end of the 14th century an enthusistic pilgrim wrote about Damascus: "The *most beautiful things in* the world are to be found here, so that if you had money in the bones of your leg you would break it to be able to buy here." Many carpets, many basins, splendid with gold and silver, which made their way to Europe, are witness today of this enthusiasm. It is not surprising that the prized works of Islamic handicraft spread far beyond the Mediterranean, that they reached Scandinavia, as the famous collection at Varby shows. What is surprising rather is how completely this natural exchange between the two cultures, never brought to a standstill over the centuries, was hidden by an imaginative adaptation, which began in the renaissance with the rediscovery of the ancient Orient and reached its pinnacle in 19th century Orientalism. The Berlin exhibition has concentrated its efforts on this imaginative adaptation, which produced a flood of pictures and in the end it seemed as if the Orient were a European discovery.



Bronze griffin from the gable apex of Pisa cathedral. Probably Spanish, 12th century.

But order has not always been successfully introduced into the thousand or so exhibits. There are times when the visitor does not know which Orient is meant, the ancient, the Arab, the Biblical or the Ottoman empire.

Not every obilesk in European art inevitably has something to do with Ancient Egypt, and not every turban something to do with the Turks.

The ambition to document more than a thousand years of Oriental influence on Europe, more than a thousand years of admiration and repugnance, war and customs, the passion for collecting and the enthusiasm for travel, was a problem for the exhibition.

It is almost impossible *to cope with the sheer mass of the exhibits, even if* one tries to master everything with enormous intellectual effort.

The catalogue of more than a *thousand* pages in length will probably remain a standard work for a long time to come.

But the exhibition itself also impresses with its enormous erudition. What seems sometimes to be piled up indiscriminately is followed *by* well-considered order, and after a few hours the visitor is aware how carefully the items have been arranged, and *how* consistently efforts have been *made to tell* cultural history with objects, to carry into an arrangement of rooms the logic of a catalogue.

Where the architecture of the Gropius Building is intrusive it is *covered* over and concealed. Nothing is allowed to distract from the exhibits. Aided by a new lighting technique there is a uniform approach to the display aesthetics of the exhibits. The cone of light catches only the individual pictures and projects them like colour slides on the wall. The visitor concentrates no longer on the pictures, but follows their sequences.

The Oriental perspectives of the exhibition cross at the central point, at the Gilgamesh fragments. The visitor standing at this point has the remains of Mesopotamia at his back and the Tower

Continued on page 11

■ **THE PRESS**

A low-profile chief in a high-profile business

In this article for the Bonn-based weekly, *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*, Hansjoachim Höhne talks to Hans Benirschke, editor-in-chief of Germany's biggest news agency, dpa (Deutsche-Presse-Agentur).

Forty years ago, the German news agency, dpa, was formed from forerunners which had been established in the immediate post-war period by the three occupying powers, America, Britain and France.

There have been news agencies in Germany for 150 years, but dpa is the first that has been able to operate independently of the state. It is owned entirely by German media interests.

Dpa's most senior journalist is its editor-in-chief, Hans Benirschke, who has held the position for more than 20 years. Although the agency has played a major part in influencing the nature and role of the Press in Germany, Benirschke's style is not high profile. The impression he gives is of friendliness. He seems courteous and perhaps even a little withdrawn.

His is not a household name. Many newspaper and periodical editors make names for themselves as political commentators or through leading articles or interviews. But not Benirschke. Much of his work is painstaking, organisational, and is necessarily done away from the glare of publicity. In 30 years with dpa, he has never tried to develop a public image.

He says a news agency should aim be to be independent of everybody. To do this, it was necessary not only to maintain good contacts but also to keep a certain distance from the centres of power.

An agency needed to make sure that newsworthy events everywhere in the world were covered and that truth remained the most important principle.

Benirschke's beginnings in life — he was born the son of a Sudetenland farmer in 1925 — would hardly have led anyone to predict that he was to become a journalist of such influence. But first came the war: he was drafted into a paratroop unit and spent his 19th birthday in a POW camp in the United States.

He used his time in camp effectively. He made up for *missed years* by studying so that, after his release, he was able to go on and read modern history, sociology, English language and literature and philosophy at Würzburg University. His doctorate, which dealt with the major work of British historian Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, was recognised with a magna cum laude in 1951.

His journalistic career began with nuts-and-bolts work in the newsroom of the dpa headquarters in a converted villa in Pöseldorf, a leafy inner-Hamburg suburb.

But soon — partly because of his knowledge of English — he became a roving correspondent and covered conferences and summit meetings in foreign countries. In those days, the network of correspondents was still being built up.

Benirschke saw the young Federal Republic of Germany take its first steps on the world stage and become a part of the West's defence system; he saw the conferences of reconciliation between Germany and France; and he saw the first attempts to start a European Community.

In 1958, he became dpa's London correspondent. In 1963, he decided to *take a break from pure news reporting* and went over to become the London correspondent for the Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. In 1966, he went back to dpa as deputy editor-in-chief and, in 1968, he became editor-in-chief.

Ever since, he has been in the Hamburg villa which, in the days of the Kaiser, was the home of the representative of the Free State of Bavaria in the *Free and Hanseatic city of Hamburg*. Benirschke's office is a plain room dominated by a huge map of the world. From here, it is just a few steps to the open-plan office where his journalistic career began.

During his time as editor-in-chief, dpa completed its transformation to an international operation. It extended its network of correspondents to 75 countries and reduced *its dependence on* other agencies. Over the past 20 years, the foreign service has been constantly developed: today, 600 subscribers receive services in English, Arab and Spanish. Dpa has become one of the four leading agencies in the western world.

At the beginning of the 70s, the advent of electronic data processing and satellite communication posed challenges. Costs increased and so did the amount of information coming in. The sheer volume of news that began to flood in from bureaus all round the world meant sweeping changing had to be made.

All this information had to be processed: it had to be read, it had to be valued, it had to be either spiked (discarded) or kept, and often it had to be rewritten. This not only meant bringing sensitive minds to the job, it also involved adjusting people and technology to each other. There were now things like data banks containing masses of information. This had to be matched by developing ways of effectively selecting the information subscribers wanted. The adjustment was clearly successful: new subscribers were won.

The main task of an agency editor-in-chief is to keep a critical eye on work, to plan and to help correspondents by making constructive suggestions. Every day, an editorial conference takes place. It is here that heads of departments examine what has been happening over the past 24 hours. What has been happening in Germany? *What has* been happening in the rest of the world? *Have the stories been handled well? If* not, how can coverage be improved. Blame and praise are allocated.

An overall picture of how dpa is faring against other international agencies is drawn from a look at the bigger subscribers. Which dpa reports have they used?

It is at the conference that coverage of assignment-book events like sports *meetings and conferences are planned*. Bureaus and correspondents are told what is to be covered and suggestions are made about how stories should be treated.

The conference is also where broader items such as ground rules for maintaining presentability and readability are decided. These rules in turn influence the media which take dpa services. In *the end, the way stories are presented* determines how public opinion is influenced — and not only in Germany.



The days of the communique have gone, says Hans Benirschke. (Photo: dpa)

Benirschke says the conference tries to grasp the character of people or organisations in the news and incorporate this in the agency's bulletins. It is not always easy. It sometimes gets down to matters of jargon. Is someone a cynical terrorist or a freedom fighter?

"Our decisions are also subject to the twists and turns of history," says Benirschke. He quotes the example of Jomo Kenyatta, who led the Mau Mau movement in Kenya in the 1950s and who was imprisoned for seven years as a terrorist but who later became the nation's president and, as such, the head of a member nation of the British Commonwealth.

Benirschke: "We must be in a position to revise our decisions. Historians have it much easier." He says that in cases of doubt, emotive expressions are avoided.

Asked about the degeneration of the German language in the media, he said *that the sheer variety of the media had* led to new reading, listening and viewing habits. Both the language and style of journalism were constantly changing. "For dpa, this means getting away from the old communique style and presenting news in a more lively way." But nothing should be allowed to detract from credibility.

Dpa does not have a monopoly. As *Benirschke says, no other country in the* world has so much news in its own language originating from both inside and outside the country and coming through so many news services.

But, although dpa has no monopoly, no newspaper or magazine, no radio station nor television company which takes its job seriously can afford to do without it.

Hansjoachim Höhne

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 9 June 1989)

'New thinking'

Continued from page 2

on nuclear tests, and "effective international mechanisms of crisis management, also for crises outside of Europe."

The *fourth* section of the declaration states that the positive development of the relationship between the two countries is of "key importance".

The 1970 *Moscow Treaty* "remains the basis for the relationship between the two countries."

The cooperation in partnership should be extended "on the basis of trust, equal rights and mutual benefit."

Furthermore: "Berlin (West) takes part in the development of cooperation in strict observation and full application of the Quadripartite Agreement of 3 September, 1971."

The final section of the document stresses the determination of both sides to develop their relations in trust in the long-term calculability of policies on both sides.

These policies are to take into account mutual treaty and alliance commitments and should not be directed against anyone.

They comply with the desire "to heal the wounds of the past and to build a better future together."

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 14 June 1989)

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of Babel, as in Breughel's famous picture, in front of him. Some way off he can see the great Andalusian bronze relief from Pisa and directly opposite the portrait of Oriental princes by Govert Flinck.

Anyone standing there sees history and imagination, the desires and realities of the Orient, its influences and its iconographic traditions all at the same time.

Biblical legends and ancient tradition, archeological finds and contempory impressions are mixed together into a range of images which continuously produce fresh variations.

There are, for instance, Sir Edward John Poynter's *Israel in Egypt* or Eugène Delacroix' *Sardanapalus*, Edwin Long's *The discovery of Moses*, or Robert's *Temple of Dendera*.

Around the patio there are corresponding works which reflect the great, ambitious journeys for research; the works of Layard, Botta, Rich or Champollion, who had gradually unveiled the Orient to a curious public and who brought an infuence to bear on the iconography of the Orient.

Motives from Vivant Denon's Egyptian journey are to be found on the dinner service, called the Service Egyptien, which Napoleon wanted to present to his wife Josephine, but which ended up in the possession of the Duke of Wellington.

The exhibition is based on such references, but this approach does diminish the importance, intrinsic to individual *objects*.

The pictures begin to look all the same, Guardi's flat landscapes with the deep Dendera picture by Roberts, Gentile Bellini's portrait of the Sultan with Van Moor's drawings of the seraglio. Many pictures hang where they belong according to the exhibition programme but they are not in keeping with the feeling of the room where they are.

This is particularly so in the hall of the Orientalists, where a row of the most beautiful harem fantasties of the 19th century can be seen alongside preliminary sketchs by Jean Ingres, which so disturb the unified impression as if one would first the ham were served before the vinaigrette.

The more one concentrates on the details, Gustav Flaubert once said about the Orient, the less one understands it as a *whole*. This is true for this exhibition — but this is obviously the aim here.

Johann Michael Möller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 June 1989)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Pioneering plastic recycling plant passes its first big test

DIE ZEIT

A plant which recycles plastic waste by turning it into granules which are then used as the raw material for new plastic products has passed its first six-month trial.

The plant can turn 6,000 tons of plastic a year into 4,000 tons of granules. The plastics processing industry can buy the granules from the plant, in the Bavarian village of Blumenrod (pop: 300), for less than DM1 per kilo; new granules cost twice as much.

The new plant can recycle roughly two thirds of the plastic contained in household waste.

Following a six-month trial run the Bavarian Environment Minister, Alfred Dick, whose ministry provides eighty per cent of the funds for the DM10m plant, has officially put the plant into operation.

The technology was provided by the Amberger Kaolinwerke (AKW), which also sells the granules. The firm has already received many inquiries.

Despite the general optimism local government politicians are critical of the lack of activity in Bonn.

Heinz Köhler, district administrator in Kronach, in Bavaria, feels that waste is the number one topic in municipalities and rural communities. Local government politicians feel left in the lurch by legislation.

In their opinion special laws should be introduced to prevent the production of waste in the first place.

This, however, would mean tangling with industry. They complain that the problem of waste disposal is left up to local government and that local government politicians are then expected to cope with the waste and public protest.

The basic legislative priority for waste is: prevention, recycling, disposal.

Although the 1986 Waste Disposal Act stipulates that waste should be "recycled" and not "only" disposed the exact definition of "recycling" is vague.

Thermal "recycling", for example, is viewed under law as comparable with organic or inorganic recycling.

Accordingly, it is up to local government politicians how they handle the problem of the growing mountains of waste.

Köhler (SPD) and his colleagues in *Abfallzweckverband*, a group aiming at more efficient waste disposal, agreed, despite varying party-political allegiances, to back the option of organic recycling. The first trial runs with with a separate collection of waste components already took place in 1982.

Today the just under 300,000 inhabitants in the region covered by the association no longer need five different containers for the various categories of waste in order to enable subsequent recycling.

Apart from the usual grey container every household now has a "green bin".

An ultra-modern recycling plant has been built in the middle of the hilly landscape not far from the East German border.

It is here, near Blumenrod, that the content of the "green bins" are sorted cut and put on to separate piles: paper, metal, wood, glass, textiles and plastic.

The plastic waste is then mechanically separated in the new recycling plant into materials which can and which cannot be recycled.

The reusable material, the poliolefines (for example, plastic sheets or fabric softener bottles) are melted into granules and packaged ready for sale.

Apart from being used as food receptacles the raw material created from waste can also be used for various plastic objects.

New granules can be added wherever greater demands are made on product quality.

If the concept proves its worth in practice waste disposal would gradually be replaced by ecologically more meaningful waste recycling in the field of synthetic materials.

Admittedly, plastic recycling also has an ecologically harmful aspect. Although it does not pollute the atmosphere the purification of the plastic waste requires a great deal of water (seven cubic metres of fresh water every hour). A corresponding effluence report has yet to be completed.

A more serious aspect is the energy needed. Plastic recycling requires a tremendous amount of electricity.

Recycling using too much energy, however, would not make ecological sense. A solution has also been found to this.

In future the methane gases which are produced in the neighbouring waste disposal site will not be burnt off, but siphoned off and used to propel gas engines which can provide electricity for the plastic recycling plant.

Apart from plastic recycling there would then also be energy recycling.

According to experts' calculations the microorganisms at the waste disposal site will emit gas for another 25 years or so.

The cooling water of the gas turbines could also be used to heat the buildings for the plant in Blumenrod during the winter. Bavaria's Environment Minister feels that this integrated waste concept could serve as a model for other plants. The Minister would, of course, have preferred to have seen a fellow CSU colleague come up with the idea rather than an SPD politician. The plant shows that a great deal is technically feasible. But can new technology keep pace with the deluge of waste?

What is more, can the costs be kept within limits? The big avalanche of waste has yet to come in the field of plastic.

During recent years numerous plants for plastic moulding injection have been set up.

Metal and steel have been replaced by plastic in many products, most noticeably in the motor industry.

The waste disposal and recycling problems resulting from the plastic boom will soon materialise in a big way.

Various cities and firms have already asked the *Allzweckverband* association whether they can transport their plastic to the new plant in Blumenrod.

"Providing the plastic material is sorted out properly beforehand," says Köhler, "this is no problem at all. The plant is not yet working to full capacity."

A new market niche is being created in the field of "waste tourism." In the region of Upper Franconia itself the area of the "green bins" for households will not be extended.

According to Heinz Köhler most work is needed in the field of industrial effluence. Environmental advisers are to be appointed to ensure that industry and private households only throw away ma-

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Three bags full. Plastic on the way to the granulator. (Photo: dpa)

A landscaping for an old brickworks

The owner of the grounds of a former brickworks in Radolfzell-Rickelshausen near Constance plans to set up a culture and communication centre together with an artists' colony on the site.

Roland Emonts and Jürgen Janssen, an architect from nearby Ettlingen, have developed an unusual but "natural" form of landscape development.

On the periphery of the grounds they intend building embankments made of old car tyres, building rubble and humus as a top layer — aimed among other things at cutting down noise.

It is very difficult to burn and thus dispose of old tyres without leaving residual substances.

This gave Janssen and Emonts the idea of combining landscape conservation with waste and using the tyres as a framework for the embankments.

The tyres will be filled with clean building rubble.

The humus, plants from this region, ivy and soil-cover will make sure that the whole thing takes root and becomes overgrown as fast as possible.

Following the initial ecological "groundwork" the first natural small biotopes can be expected to develop in these hollows and cavities.

An important argument in favour of the project was a report compiled by Professor Schelle from the Rubber Institute at Hanover Technical College in 1972.

The report underlines that natural and synthetic rubber are extremely resistant to bacteria and can thus be stored for a very long time without decomposing or rotting.

The Rural District Office and the town of Radolfzell have so far had no objections against the use of tyres as a building material.

After all, there is also an artistic aspect to the whole idea. Janssen compares the embankment to a sculpture.

In his opinion there is no reason why the remains of motoring technology should not remain visible in the embankment.

It could then function as a kind of warning that there are things in our society which cannot be disposed of at will.

The city of Bern has already successfully tested tyre embankments, which also cushion crash impact.

Gerhard Herr

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 9 June 1989)

Big project to test ways of cleaning contaminated areas

New methods of cleaning contaminated areas are to be tested and compared in a major project costing between 30 million and 50 million marks to be spent over four or five years.

The aim is to develop ways of cleaning up contaminated areas. These include former waste disposal sites, unofficial rubbish dumps and production sites contaminated by pollutants.

Refuse dumps in Georgswerder, Hamburg, and Münchehagen, in Lower Saxony, together with the housing estates built on contaminated soil in Dortmund rank as the most seriously contaminated areas.

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber announced that his objective is not only to purify the pollutants which contaminate the soil, but also to make it possible for the new sites to be used again in future and thus save land.

The number of contaminated areas in Germany is estimated at anything up to 50,000. Riesenhuber said that up to 5,000 of them urgently need to be decontaminated. So far the Research Ministry has invested approximately DM84m in about 100 individual projects aimed at developing new waste disposal techniques.

These include incineration techniques for heavily contaminated soil, washing out pollutants, biological techniques and sealing measures.

With reference to the use of microbes, which are particularly useful in the decomposition of hydrocarbons and highly toxic dioxins, Riesenhuber qualified his praise by emphasising that these organism strains still break down the compounds too slowly and do not proliferate fast enough.

Furthermore, it is not clear how dangerous the intermediate products are.

It was not clarified how long the decontamination should generally take and, above all, who should bear the costs if the polluter cannot be clearly identified.

dpa

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 June 1989)

■ HEALTH/EDUCATION

The problems of making contact with the deaf and the mentally-ill deaf

There are 50,000 people in Germany who have been deaf from birth or who became deaf before learning to talk.

As opposed to people able to hear they have to try to comprehend their environment without speech, the most important faculty of communication and explanation.

"Deafness isolates people," says Dr Inge Richter, specialist for neurology and psychiatry at the Erlangen district hospital.

"Whereas children who can hear live in a world which is permanently interpreted and have parents who can interpret and explain what they observe deaf children have to seek these explanations themselves.

"As they are not familiar with speech sounds they have a completely different linguistic competence and are also unfamiliar with many concepts and their meaning."

Inge Richter knows what she is talking about. She is deaf herself.

She went deaf before learning to speak, attended a school for the deaf, passed her school-leaving examination in a class with children who were not deaf, studied medicine in Munich, and today runs the department for the totally and partly deaf at the Erlangen district hospital.

Clinic departments of this kind, in which only deaf patients who suffer from acute psychological disturbances are treated, are a rarity in Germany.

Apart from the clinic in Erlangen a similar institution (headed by a female doctor who is partially deaf) only exists in the Westphalian regional hospital in Lengerich.

Both institutions were only set up recently.

Inge Richter knows that it is easier for her to establish contact with the psychologically disturbed deaf patients than for colleagues who are not deaf themselves.

"I can interpret the often limited modes of expressions a lot better and understand what life is like in a soundless world," she explains.

"I also know what it is like when a deaf person moves into a new environment or gets a new job."

Most of her patients have psychological problems as a result of their deafness. Their hearing disorder worsens their condition considerably.

"In addition to the handicap itself, which many experience as a stigma, there is a second stigma: the feeling of not being normal," says Frau Richter.

She knows only too well that this twofold experience of being an outsider is frequently interpreted by the "normal" and healthy environment as confirmation of its belief that deaf people are less intelligent.

Dr Richter emphasises that the other form of thinking and experiencing characteristic of the deaf has nothing to do with intelligence.

Various reasons can cause a psychological imbalance in the case of the deaf.

Inge Richter is convinced that one major reason is the inability of deaf people to accept the fact that they are handicapped.

They want to be like others, but are constantly forced to realise that this is not the case and that they have problems with other people.

She illustrates this by referring to specific instances in which problems occur (the sum of which can become unbearable for the persons affected).

A deaf person, for example, might start laughing in a serious situation because of misinterpreting the facial expression of the people in the group.

Only people who hear know that it is not the done thing to eat noisily, since they can audibly perceive the noise.

"The patients are more likely to believe me than a doctor who can is not deaf when I tell them that they must come to terms with their handicap," says Inge Richter, who tries to set a personal example to her patients.

In many cases the members of the families of deaf people are not willing or able to integrate the problem properly; or they react by expecting too much of the deaf person in other fields.

Some children and adolescents are expected, for example, to be good at sport as a kind of compensation for their deafness.

In everyday life basic communication often fails because the interpreted meanings of concepts are not known.

Apart from patients in this category neurotic patients suffering from deafness as an accentuating factor and mentally ill patients (for example, schizophrenics) who are deaf are also treated in Erlangen.

Assistance is particularly difficult for doctors and nurses in the latter group, since language is an essential element of the diagnosis.

Although conclusions can be drawn from patients' behaviour about their emotional state the overall assessment is extremely difficult.

The hospital ward in Erlangen can admit 25 patients.

Financed by the Association of Bavarian Districts and backed by the Medical Director Professor Holger Schneider, the department was officially opened in the Erlangen district hospital in January 1988.

Apart from the hospital rooms there are rooms for occupational and group therapy, and a room with a floor which vibrates and makes music perceptible for the deaf — the basis for kinesitherapy.

The stay in the hospital begins with an exact physical and neurological examination.

The psychological diagnosis mainly falls back on language-free tests.

"Once we discover which problems have led to the psychological disorder we try to make patients aware of these problems and teach them the techniques needed to overcome them," says Inge Richter.

Depending on the nature of each specific case, sign language training, occupational therapy and/or physiotherapy try to show patients how to cope with their conflicts during the average stay of three months in the hospital.

Lectures on certain subjects or visits to public authorities are also part of the therapy programme.

"Our aim is to make it easier for the patients to live in a group and handle their situation in the family and at work," Frau Richter explains.

The aim in the case of the schizophrenic patients is a "social cure", a return to a family on which is as intact as possible.

Cooperation with the families of deaf persons and after-care following hospital treatment (by trained social workers, for example) are tasks which Inge Richter and her colleagues will be focusing more attention in future.

"We are currently establishing contacts to consider the possibility of special hostels or shared accommodation."

There is close contact with colleagues in Westphalia.

As patients not only come to Erlangen from Bavaria or southern Germany adequate after-care is also a geographical problem.

Furthermore, the growing familiarity of the Erlangen department among the deaf and their families has led to a growing number of applications for treatment in the small ward.

Christiane Schulz

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 3 June 1989)



Fighting the isolation. The deaf in classroom. (Photo: amw)

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terial which can be recycled. This method is more efficient, but costs more money.

Bonn Environment Minister, Klaus Töpfer, plans to make it compulsory for firms to label their products more precisely.

Consumers would then know whether a bottle is made of plastic which can be recycled or not.

This measure, however, would have nothing to do with the "prevention" of waste, the most urgent measure needed to cope with the increase in waste.

District administrator Köhler and his local government colleagues, therefore, cannot yet heave a sigh a relief.

Plastic accounts for six per cent of household waste nationwide.

The politicians in Blumenrod have been able to recycle two thirds of this material in the form of plastic raw material.

The Bonn government, however, is not doing anything to tackle the problem at its roots by legally obliging industry not to produce so much waste in the first place.

Ulrich Deisch

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 9 June 1989)

■ CRIME

Boom in art prices leads to a boom in forgeries, thefts and ransoms

The scene was like something from a television crime series. Lothar Wenzel, wearing a trench coat, was standing next to his hired Mercedes in the parking area of a service station on the autobahn between Cologne and Aachen. He was keeping an appointment.

A taxi arrived. The occupant stepped out, looked about and spoke to Wenzel, who looked in the boot of the taxi, nodded, put his hand into his inside pocket and pulled out DM5,000.

The newcomer counted the notes. A few words passed between the two. Wenzel, 38, a private detective, wanted to do some more negotiating, but the other man didn't.

The detective opened the boot of his car. A package wrapped in a woollen blanket was transferred from the taxi to the Mercedes. The entire exchange took no more than a couple of minutes.

The parcel contained a portrait of an old lady dating from 1875 and valued at an estimated DM25,000.

A few days before, it had been offered to a Cologne art dealer. He became suspicious when the seller could not say where the painting had come from.

But because the art dealer remained interested in buying, he commissioned Wenzel, who is well-known for his experience in investigating art theft, to investigate.

Wenzel made contact with the would-be seller and discovered that, among people dealing in stolen works of art, he was well known as a receiver.

The fence volunteered the information that the painting had been stolen from the home of a real-estate agent in the Rhineland who could have it back if he paid. Wenzel negotiated the deal.

The owner did want it back. He had not told the police about the theft in the first place and didn't want to contact them now. Wenzel assumed that the the estate agent was afraid that any publicity might draw the attention of the taxation authorities.

The public is unaware of transactions of this sort, but for a long time they have been common in the international grey world of stolen art works, and they involve millions.

The latest example was the three van Goghs stolen from the Kroeller Mueller Museum in Ede in Holland last December. They had an insured value of at least DM200m.

One reappeared in April. The *Weaver with loom* was found in a stolen car parked in front of the museum director's home.

A demand for five million guilders for the other two was not long in coming. The first handover deadline expired mid-April.

Both police and about a dozen private investigators are working on the case. Wenzel explains that in such cases where enormous sums of money are involved, many people are attracted by the chance of getting a slice of the action.

Wolfgang Prechtl, a senior policeman at the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA, equivalent to the CID or FBI) and an expert on art thefts, says the art market is going through a boom and that is resulting in a flood of forgeries. There were now more reported thefts of forgeries than genuine works of art.

One reason for the high prices which have encouraged the forgeries on to the market is speculation: van Gogh's *Sunflowers* was sold at an auction for DM72m. No one wanted to buy van Goghs when he lived. Now, the auctioneer's hammer knocked down his *Irises* for DM94m.

Pablo Picasso's *Acrobat and young Harlequin* rose in a matter of minutes from £5m to £21m. It was bought at auction by the Japanese department store giant, Mitsukoshi.

Last autumn alone Christies auctioned works of art valued at over a billion marks.

The magazine *art* said: "Record prices for works of art are quickly relayed round the world. This is advertising for the value of art as an investment and it means that even the most remote museum will profit."

But not everyone profits. Prechtl: "Such incredible prices encourage crime." A wide field has been opened up to individual specialist criminals and international gangs.

Karl-Heinz Kind, another BKA official: "The theft itself does not present much of a problem to most of them. The problem is selling. Which art dealer wants to buy something that police forces all over the world are looking for?"

But this does not always involve selling. The newest refinement is "artnapping," or demanding ransom money for the work's return.

Wenzel says a new generation of art thieves is at work. "They are not conventional burglars who take everything

Frankfurter Rundschau

not nailed down. They are intellectuals, arcane academics, technicians and computer experts.

"They work with ingenious calculation and a precise knowledge of things such as electronic-alarm systems."

The risk of their being caught was small, "and the criminal consequences are incomparably less than kidnapping a child, for instance."

In 1962 criminals broke into the pilgrimage church of Mary in the Vineyard in Volkach, near Würzburg, and took made Tilmann Riemenschneider's *Maria im Rosenkrantz*, a carving dating from 1521.

Henri Nannen, at the time the executive editor of the news magazine, *Stern*, wrote in a controversial editorial: "Should we try to catch a couple of thieves and run the risk of damaging the irretrievable beauty of this Madonna's face? In my view that should be avoided even if means the police coming out of the episode empty-handed."

Stern offered DM100,000 for the return of the work. Nannen promised that the robbers would not be betrayed to the police.

The thieves got their money, *Stern* got a story and the Madonna is now hanging where it always did.

Thieves have not been deterred because a work of art is world famous and therefore probably unsalable. Works by the great masters are stolen by the lorry-load. In 1976 thieves who stole 119 Picassos from the Papal Palace in Avignon demanded a ransom of DM13m.

In the spectacular Esterhazy Coup in Budapest six years ago seven pictures were stolen including works by Raffael and Tiepolo valued at DM115m.

The largest collection of stolen works of art was found by investigators in America in 1982.

A Philadelphia doctor had crammed his luxury apartment with stolen art: sculptures, bronzes, collages and paintings. The thieves had stolen works giving an overall view of classical modern art.

Three years ago the most audacious theft of art took place at the Marmottan Museum in Paris.

In broad daylight five masked men stormed into the Museum, held up visitors at pistol-point and tore down from the walls pictures valued at over 30 million, including works by Monet and Renoir.

Details of more than 70,000 stolen works, including 30,000 paintings, are stored in the computers of the BKA in Wiesbaden. A glance at the computer monitor shows that there are 371 Picassos, 140 Rembrandts and 238 Salvador Dalis missing.

The latest Picasso thefts occurred in Bad Homburg in March last year, in September 1988 in Essen, in October in Cologne, in December in Munich and in February this year in Frankfurt.

Naturally, crime squad officers have had their successes. Rubens' *Orpheus and Eurydice*, stolen from the Zürich Art Gallery, was recovered in Wiesbaden. A police official was able to infiltrate the sales negotiations as an informer.

The BKA solves 22 per cent of cases reported, but, according to Karl-Heinz Kind, most serious thefts remain unsolved. This gives private detectives their chance.

Manfred Lotze, spokesman for the West German Association of Private Detectives, said: "In the grey area of investigating art theft the work is often time-consuming and tedious, when it is not hopeless.

"Often the police just take note of the report of the theft. Because of personnel shortages the case is only put on file in many police headquarters."

Wolfgang Prechtl concedes that private detectives do have an advantage. "They have more time," he said. People who take on private detectives are aware of this, but they want to see results for the money they lay out.

Lothar Wenzel has made a name for himself in this sphere and is well known in this devious art business. He has contacts for information from the underworld and its periphery.

Sometimes he is given information by the state authorities, or a tip, as he says, "from people who are on the ball."

There is money to be made in this illegal market, particularly in art centres such as Cologne, where there are plenty of galleries, museums and auction houses.

Wenzel said: "The art market is much troubled by theft, fraud, blackmail, embezzlement and falsification of art works."

A man named only as Max, who was an antiques dealer and an insider in the business, said that Cologne was the stolen art capital of Europe. A few years ago he made headlines.

With two accomplices he was selling on the black market artworks to the tune of DM16m in Belgium. The two accomplices, one the son of a bank director, went to prison.

The charges against Max were dropped. He was able to negotiate a deal with the Belgian authorities. A number of important works were returned to Belgian museums. Max went free.

He said: "There is simply too little art and too few antiques and too many people with plenty of money. They get everything they want: antiques, furniture, clocks, carpets, everything. There's no problem. Things go on you would not believe."

The BKA regards all this in a different light. Karl-Heinz Kind believes that it is just press supposition that thieves burgle to order. He said that there had been no evidence that this had happened in the past.

Max commented: "In art theft circles millions pass through the thieves' hands. Everything is discreet when the price is right. The ordinary guy who wants to pawn his watch has to show an identity card. No buyer, a prominent person who wants to remain anonymous, questions the origins of a work of art."

Wenzel's work in the art theft world has produced plenty of experiences which could be regarded as typical in art dealing.

An art lover acquired several pictures for a lot of money from a Cologne art dealer, for instance.

Then the purchaser began to have doubts as to whether he had paid the right high price for the artworks displayed in his living room.

Lothar Wenzel established that the pictures had been "priced up" by art experts. The art dealer had improved his profits by pushing the pictures up from works worth DM2,000 to ten times that price. The art expert who had reported on the pictures had been bribed.

Wenzel got on to him. This expert said without further ado that he was prepared to value one of the pictures Wenzel put before him at DM20,000 instead of DM5,000 if the price was right.

Wenzel has a staff of ten. His operation has been very successful in retrieving works of art. When the Jewels of Saint Ursula were stolen from a reliquary in a Cologne church ten years ago, he was able to negotiate the ransom for a ludicrously low price.

Wenzel said: "The jewels were to all intents and purposes given back." But he makes no secret of the fact that he is in the business to make money.

He deals with most of his commissions very discreetly. His clients include private collectors, gallery owners, museums and particularly insurance companies. They all have good reasons for employing a private investigator in addition to, or in place of, the police.

Karl-Heinz Kind said: "Of course an art dealer is more interested in getting back his property than that a thief should be arrested." But that is only one reason why the police are not drawn into a case.

Major police investigations often make thieves nervous. Experience has shown that they get rid of their hot goods at ludicrously low prices or even destroy them. The legitimate owners and the insurance companies want to avoid that at all costs.

So private detectives hunt for the thieves or negotiate with middlemen for the return of the works. The insurance companies constantly try to limit the

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■ HORIZONS

A woman turns to helping children with Aids

Lis Spans used to own a shop which sold antiques and lamps. She liked going to parties and expensive restaurants. She doesn't have the shop any more and doesn't go to expensive restaurants. Her life changed three years ago. In this article for the Bonn-based newspaper, *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*, Ferdinand Quante tells the story of the founder of Kinder-Aids-Hilfe, a pioneering organisation which helps children infected with Aids.

Lis Spans scoffs at the way the media tries to present her as a saint for her work with children Aids-sufferers and their mothers.

The media likes to give the impression that Düsseldorf's Altstadt is not just an interminable succession of bars but the parish of an ever-smiling saint.

Three years ago Frau Spans, a goldsmith and lamp designer, met a young woman, a former drug-addict who was infected with the HIV virus and who had transmitted Aids to her three-year-old daughter, Anna.

The mother died four months after the two women met and Frau Spans took in the girl.

A brochure about Kinder-Aids-Hilfe discreetly mentions that the dead woman was responsible for triggering off the initiative for Frau Spans to set up the organisation.

As soon as I arrived to interview her she asked to be excused and rushed off for a moment. "I hope you're not in a hurry," she said, drifting out of the room with a heart-warming smile.

Was she under such pressure of appointments three years ago? "I've always been hectic, trying to do several things at once," she said.

We were sitting in a large dimly-lit office. She dangled a leg over the arm of her easy chair. "I never dreamt earlier on that one day I would slip into social work."

Slipping into social work sounds rather as if she blindly fell into it. She is now 47 and she carefully considered every step she took, even if she acted swiftly, impulsively, and to a considerable degree out of conscience to do something about what she believed in fervently.

At the beginning she felt a little uneasy — she had the small Anna with her who could not speak or walk.

"If I had imagined that my life now would be taken up with a small child, then I would have broken out in a sweat because I do not regard myself as one of those terribly motherly types."

She went on to say, "furthermore I am constantly having new ideas, which I would like to put into operation." Lis Spans has a 25-year-old son. She is divorced.

The public reaction which parallelled her involvement with Aids children was like a long astonished sigh of relief.

While massive headlines hammered home the threat of death from Aids this woman was living voluntarily with an HIV positive child.

Is Aids then perhaps not a completely unpredictable, insidious spreading illness?

Through her actions Lis Spans has certainly encouraged a rationalisation of the general fear of infection among her friends and contacts, at least among those from whom she did not expect to get friendly support.

She also received this support when she wanted to found the organisation to help children suffering from Aids. Her motive was practical self-defence.

She said: "I sat for many, many hours with Anna on the sofa, but that was not my life. Normally I am very active, and Anna slept a lot.

"Those tranquil hours probably inspired me to doing something meaningful with the whole situation."

Within two years the organisation was being given support from influential quarters, not just from the social services.

A few days ago, a ward was opened in the Düsseldorf University Hospital for HIV positive children and for those with Aids itself.

Eighteen young patients have been admitted to the ward, the first of its kind in Europe. There are about 50 cared for as out-patients.

The ward cost two million marks. The money came entirely from private donations. The organisation is handling the personal care and financial support "of parents and others, who are involved in nursing children HIV positive and suffering from Aids."

In the meantime the organisation is operating nationwide, much further afield than it was originally intended.

In the office there is a file full of newspaper clippings. The continuous sympathy and enthusiasm for sensation of the press is astonishing. Journalists do not seem to have missed a single tombola evening to support the organisation helping Aids children with eventually the presentation of a cheque.

The RTL television station elected Lis Spans as Woman of the Year '88, and the WDR radio and television station reports so constantly about her that it is embarrassing to her.

But all this comes in useful for the sick children, work which gets so much out of hand that she has less and less time to earn a living.

"I don't know how I hoped I could continue running my shop," she recalled, a business in which, for 12 years, she sold antiques and lamps she designed herself.

Seven weeks ago she gave up the shop. Two weeks later she moved into a small studio so as to be able to design unusual lamps. At least that to earn something to live off.

It is all denial and ascetic self-restraint then? She has not been able to maintain her previous lifestyle with a bank balance continuously diminishing.

Once she frequented the best restaurants in Europe and enjoyed parties with champagne and good wines — happy memories.

She has sadly had to sell her Chevrolet Blazer car because it consumed too much petrol.

But she does not want to give up her antiques. She said that she needed beautiful things in her home. "That is almost decadent."

The past three years have not cut her off from her ability to enjoy herself, it is just that her old lifestyle is no longer so important to her.

She does not regard the many limitations she has had to impose on herself as a bad thing, because she lives such a fulfilled life.

When she was once asked if she was not overtaxed in nursing a child who would one day die, she replied: "What's the point of feeling bad apart from the fact that one is perhaps very, very sad? I am quite prepared to meet the situation."

Anna died in January and Lis Spans went to her small farmhouse in Austria with a feeling of despair, "natural despair and a sense of mourning." The farm is her refuge where she can be alone.

The villagers brought her something to eat and showed sympathy, which did her good.

Scoffs at the saint image ... Lis Spans. (Photo: Stefan Enders)

After eight days she returned to Düsseldorf to continue with her work for children suffering from Aids.

"I am regenerated when I am alone, and I have learned to depend on myself," she said.

Forestalling an inevitable question she said: "At the moment I prefer to live alone. If I say that I do not want to live in close relationship with a man I'm dismissed as an over-emancipated woman.

"I don't have have anything against solid relationships, only something against woman who flaunt their emancipation."

She said that her problem was that no-one saw her in the normal light she saw herself.

And finally her energetic, staccato thoughts about men, the same age as herself working purposefully towards a pension.

"I can't bear that. It would be terrible for me. That's not the life for me."

Ferdinand Quante

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 9 June 1989)

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losses they have to sustain; they prefer to pay a ransom than have to pay a large sum for damages.

Museums and art galleries are also not interested in having a great song and dance made about a theft.

Wenzel said: "When that happens their public image suffers, and people who might loan works are put off when it is discovered that the insurance cover for theft in a museum is inadequate."

"There are also slippery clients," said Wenzel, speaking from his own considerable experience. Investors with funds kept secret from the tax authorities depend on absolute discretion.

"Anyone who invests money that has been kept hidden from the taxman and then has the works stolen does not go to the police nor put in an insurance claim," Wenzel said.

Private investigators are given only the barest details which are of importance for making investigations. "Nothing is said about the tax aspect of the artwork." The attitude is: What I don't know doesn't worry me.

It goes without saying that Wenzel is sensitive about his reputation as a private detective. This means that he has to work within the limits of the law.

Like anyone else he is obliged to assist in the solution of a serious crime. "Theft, however, is not an official offence in precise legal terms," said Wenzel, a lawyer by training.

The police cannot be accused of refusing to make investigations or deal with a crime if the person robbed does not report the fact to the police and institute legal proceedings.

So that the retrieval of art works subjected to "art-napping" or rewarding police informants should not slip into a disregard for the law the specialist magazine *Kriminalistik* recommended a few years ago to police officers that payments or transfers of money should be made to informers in the presence of a witness from the department concerned.

This regulation has a number of advantages. Officials are shielded from suspicion. The transfer or payment of money can be established in a correct manner (important as well from a tax point of view, deductable as business expenses).

Since April the authorities in Cologne have known that public servants have not been keeping to these recommendations.

Two senior police officers, of all people, got too involved in the corruption of the stolen artwork world.

One of them allowed vital police files to disappear, and his colleague allowed a Cologne businessman to recover valuable carpets — in exchange for a ransom of DM25,000.

This police office omitted to tell his superiors and to charge the fence, known to him.

In another case he warned a Yugoslav about a West German police investigation. Not without self-interest. The police officer hoped that he would get DM70,000 from the wanted man. For a picture. He had negotiated this sum as middle-man for a Cologne art dealer. The Yugoslave palmed off on the police officer a forgery.

As a consequence of these underhand dealings he was suspended from duty and given a 15 month suspended sentence.

Sometimes a completely innocent party gets involved in the corruption of the stolen works of art world. This is not to be recommended for imitation but Father Gabriel Weiler has been constantly successful acting as a detective.

The carving of "St Anne with Mary and the child Jesus," dating from 1470, was stolen from his parish church of St Kolumba for the third time last autumn. Twice before the carving had been returned by devious paths.

In October Father Weiler went on the search for the valuable carving. For one whole night long he asked around in various circles and according to the police, "two repentant sinners" brought back the carving of the Saint in a potato sack.

Father Weiler has declined to say how he managed this. He said: "Things happened which I cannot talk about." But not without some pride he said: "The reward of DM10,000 was not paid."

Rolf Bauerdick

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 June 1989)